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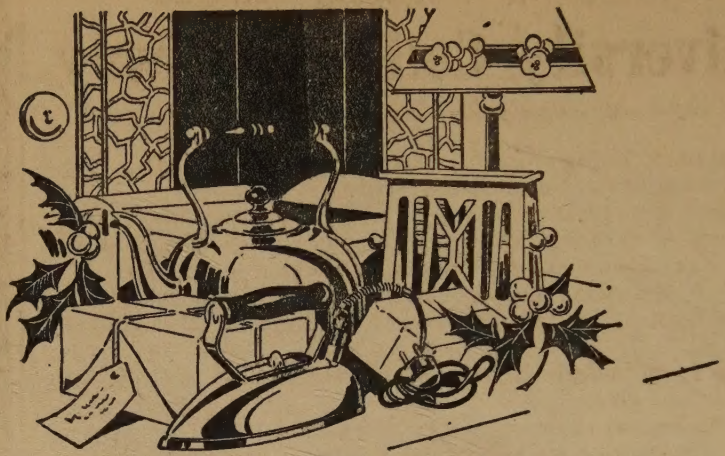

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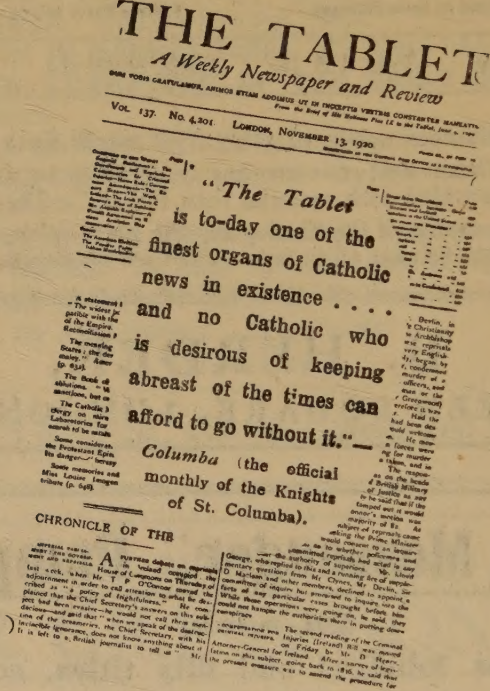
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An Irish Quarterly Review

ECEMBER 1929

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JOHN CORNELIUS: AN IRISH MARTYR 1554–1594

BY LEO HICKS, S.J.

THE martyrs' title to the honours of the Church is their willing acceptance of death inflicted out of hatred of the Faith. With many thus raised to the altars, though not with all, a life of great sanctity prepared the way for its heroic consummation and, quite apart from martyrdom, might have entitled them to be venerated with the saints of God. Among such must be numbered the martyr John Cornelius,[1] signalised as he was by his contemporaries for his outstanding virtue.

His parents were of Irish nationality and of lowly condition—his father, according to one account, being a chimney-sweep. He was their only son and was born at Bodmin in Cornwall.[2] In the school of the same town he received the first rudiments of learning, and as a young boy showed quite unusual eagerness for study. Bartoli relates that his mother had to carry his dinner to the school; otherwise the studious John would have remained fasting till evening rather than lose the time from his

[1] Also called Corneelys and Mohun or Moone. Among the English Martyrs to be beatified before the end of this year are Father John Cornelius and his two companions, John Carey and Patrick Salmon, both of Dublin. The date of the Beatification, not yet officially announced, is expected to be December 15.

[2] Cornelius's parents were certainly Irish. This, according to Fitzsimon and Bartoli, is explicitly stated in the "Acts" of the martyr written by Dorothy Arundell, a first-hand authority (*cf.* Fitzsimon, *Catalogus Sanctorum Iberniae*, cited by Hogan in *Ibernia Ignatiana*, p. 33–34; Bartoli, *Inghilterra*, 1667, p. 363. *Cf.* also Manger's *Relation*, 1626. The late Dr. Grattan Flood maintained, on the authority of O'Sullivan (*Historia Catholica*, 1621), that Cornelius was born in Ireland (*Month*, Jan., 1923). Quite apart from the fact that O'Sullivan seems to have little accurate knowledge of the martyr's life, it is explicitly asserted in the "Acts" and in Manger's *Relation* that he was born in Bodmin. Mohun, which is probably the origin of the suggested connection with the O'Mahonys (*cf.* Flood, *Month*, May, 1922), is a Cornish name and (as I suspect) an alias. Sir Walter Raleigh seems to imply this when he writes: "He calls himself John Moone, *but* he is an Irishman." (Hatfield Calendar, IV, p. 511).

books by coming home for his meal. On one occasion he was discovered by Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, the great champion of Catholicism in the West Country, reading a book under a hedge while his school-fellows were playing in a neighbouring field. On being asked why he was taking no part in the games, he replied: "My delight is much greater in reading this book." Sir John was so pleased with the answer that he became the boy's patron, took him into his own household and provided for his further education. Later he sent him to Oxford, where he showed uncommon ability and in 1575 became Fellow of Exeter College. His career, however, at the University was cut short by his Catholicism; for on August 3, 1578, "he was expelled by Royal Commissioners for Popery."[1]

A year or so later, desiring to study for the priesthood, he crossed over to Rheims and was enrolled among the students. But after a short stay there, he was sent with five others to Rome, where he was admitted to the English College on April 1, 1580. Little is known of his three years college life. His name occurs among the first twelve students admitted to the sodality of Our Lady, which was erected there on August 15, 1581.[2] He was also ordained priest during this period, but in what year is uncertain. He seems chiefly to have distinguished himself by his gift of oratory, and on St. Stephen's day 1581, was appointed to preach before the Pope in the Sistine chapel. So well did he acquit himself of the task that Gregory XIII desired to have a copy of the discourse in Latin and gave orders that a student of the College should preach before him every year on the same feast.[3] Father Grene also records that he delivered a

[1] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, I.

[2] Cardinal Sega, in his report of his first visitation of the College, printed in O. Meyer's *England und die katholische Kirche unter Elisabeth*, p. 449. Cornelius is also mentioned by the same Cardinal in his report of his second visitation, 1595, as being favourably disposed towards the Jesuits. (Foley, *Records*, VI, p. 52).

[3] Allen's pleasure at the compliment to the College. Knox, *Allen*, pp. 123-124.

sermon in the Jesuit church in 1582, on the occasion of the devotion of the Forty Hours.[1]

In September of next year, in company with John Mush, John Lowe and Christopher Hodgson, he left Rome for England. Before the departure of the missionaries they had an audience with the aged Pope, who received them most graciously. He presented them with money for the journey, granted them special faculties,[2] and in case there should be danger in carrying a breviary in England gave them permission to recite instead of the office, certain psalms and other prayers they might know by heart. Cornelius and Lowe also had an interview with Father Aquaviva, begging for admission into the Society which they had taken a vow to enter.[3] Aquaviva did not think well to accede to their request at the moment because of the excitement such admissions caused among the scholars of the College. He did not, however, release them from their vow, but put them off indefinitely, making them meanwhile participators in all the merits of the Order.

On his return to England, Cornelius became chaplain to his former friend and patron, Sir John Arundell, who under compulsion from the government had come up from Lanherne and was at this time living in London. One of his first acts of priestly zeal was to make a short visit to Cornwall to seek out his widowed mother and bring her back to the Church from which she had lapsed. He returned with her to London and, in order that he might continue more easily to instruct her in the Faith, placed her with Lady Arundell. Henceforth, thanks to the latter's liberality, this poor Irish woman, a stranger in an alien land, knowing no tongue but her own native Irish, found material support and protection for her

[1] Stonyhurst MSS. Collectanea N. I. (*olim* N. II.), p. 33.

[2] Foley's *Records*, VI, pp. 99-100, gives a list of these.

[3] Garnet's letter to Aquaviva, *circa* March, 1593. Stonyhurst MSS. Collectanea P., p. 597.

Faith in this truly Catholic house, where she was able to converse frequently with and be directed by her priest son who spoke her language fluently. For the next six or seven years Cornelius gave himself zealously to mission work in and around London. He lived chiefly in the house of Sir John, probably at this time in Ely Place, Holborn. Later he moved with him to the then suburb of Clerkenwell and thence to Musewell Hill and finally took up his residence at Isleworth.

During these years, Cornelius devoted himself particularly to preaching; and the sanctity of his life combined with his gentleness of manner and his gift of eloquence gave singular efficacy to his sermons. "What should I reckon up a Cornelius," writes his contemporary John Gerard, "so famous in preaching that all Catholics followed him as children do their nurses when they long for milk."[1] And the esteem in which the martyr was held and the value set upon his eloquence are no less discernible from the words of that unhappy apostate, Anthony Tyrrell, despite his malicious misrepresentation. "Cornelius," he wrote "was thought the fittest man to preach before ladies and gentlemen, both for his sweet and plausible tongue and for that he could best counterfeit simplicity. It was laboured that one lady should inform another and get him made famous to some of her Majesty's Privy Chamber, that so soon as any of them could be catched to affect our religion, that then some of us could court it should it be brought familiar amongst them, and by corrupting such as should be near her Majesty, we might have better means to practise further treachery."[2]

It was while he was stationed in London that Cornelius took part in the "exorcisms" of 1585 and 1586 that caused considerable stir among Catholics and Pro-

[1] *Narrative of Gunpowder Plot*, ed. Morris, 1871, p. 17.

[2] Cited by Morris, *Troubles*, II, 408. Cornelius's ability as a preacher is singled out by his contemporaries generally.

testants alike, and even at the Court itself. Several priests of repute, including more than one martyr, were concerned in the movement, and it apparently resulted in a large number of conversions, estimated by Anthony Tyrrell at five hundred and by others at a much higher figure.[1] Cornelius, though he played a smaller part in it than did the Venerable Robert Dibdale and Father Weston, became nevertheless noted to his contemporaries for his "power over evil spirits." John Gerard writes of him as "a man so full of the Apostle's charity that, with one fervent speech in imitation of the offer which St. Paul made to be 'anathema pro fratribus,' he expelled a devil out of a person whom he was exorcising. I know the time and place where it was performed; and where another wicked spirit confessed in a possessed person that his fellow was cast out by Cornelius his charity."[2] And in an intercepted letter to Father Agazzari, Southwell reports "that Cornelius, called by the Protestants a conjurer and an enchanter, is in safety and doth much good by his singular gift of preaching."[3] His biographers too have stressed the point: it is not necessary here to enter into a discussion on these exorcisms.[4]

It was amid much peril that Cornelius continued his apostolic labours in London, remaining there through all the brutal ferocity of the Armada period, when the whole city appeared, as one missioner described it, "black with gibbets." No personal danger, his biographers record, ever daunted him. Before setting out for England, he had resolved to spare himself in nothing, but to accept every hardship, even the sacrifice of life itself, in seeking the spiritual welfare of his neighbour. Indeed, to die for the Faith was for him a crowning grace supremely to be desired. Asked once to inscribe some pious thought

[1] Morris, *Troubles*, II, 99. *Cf.* also Southwell to Aquariva, 25 July, 1586, C.R.S. V, 309.

[2] *Gunpowder Plot*, ed. Morris, p. 17.

[3] P.R.O., Dom. Eliz., CXCV, n. 119. Cited by Foley, *Records*, I, 331.

[4] They were fully discussed by J. H. Pollen, *Month*, May, 1911.

in a book, he wrote: "Would that I might be despoiled of this my flesh, whether by the rope, the cross or torture," and he sent a letter to Weston, after the latter's arrest, encouraging him, too, to martyrdom.[1]

Yet though London claimed the greater part of his missionary life, Cornelius, like all Irishmen, felt the call of his native land, and for a long time ardently desired to labour in Ireland, where, he believed, there was more need of assistance and greater scope for his work. On several occasions he endeavoured to cross over, but his efforts proved ineffectual; God frustrating them, piously adds Bartoli, for the good of England and that He might enrich his servant with the two-fold grace of dedicating his life by religious vows and sealing his faith with his blood.

Since 1579 except for two short periods, when they had imprisoned him in the Tower and in the castle at Wisbech, the Queen's ministers had constrained Cornelius's patron, Sir John Arundell, to live in London in a residence known to them. The Arundell household had, in consequence, settled there; but on the death of Sir John late in 1590, Lady Arundell returned with the family to the West Country, and shortly before Christmas the three priests Sherwood, Patenson and Cornelius followed her there to her house at Chideock in Dorset.

This change of residence was by no means for our martyr a call to rest from his labours. Besides the care of twenty to thirty Catholics in the household, he sought out the adherents of the Faith in the country around Chideock, exhorted them to constancy and strengthened them in their adherence by means of the sacraments. Nor did he neglect the Protestants and the Schismatics, but where opportunity offered, endeavoured to draw them from their errors, and this with such good effect that within a short time he had reconciled thirty families to the Church. He preached regularly twice a week as

[1] Morris, *Troubles*, II, 197.

well as on all feast days. Every afternoon, at a fixed hour, he gave a catechetical instruction on the mysteries of the Faith to those of the household and to such Catholics from outside as wished to attend, and in the evening read some suitable spiritual book to those who aspired to perfection and wished to dedicate themselves to God in the religious life. Old Catholics and newly converted responded with fervour to his zeal. They exerted themselves, his biographers relate, to assemble together at all seasons and even at dead of night; and when it was unsafe for them to meet in private houses, they sought protection in the thickest woods far removed from the public roads.

In due course these defections from the Protestant ranks and the invigorated spirit of the Catholics became known to the local ministers and officials; and seeing that this set-back to the state religion had begun with the arrival of Lady Arundell at Chideock, they naturally connected it with her presence in the neighbourhood. Yet so effective was the Father's disguise and so prudently did he exercise his ministry that no suspicion fell upon him. It was only after his arrest, caused by the treachery of a servant, that he and the priests with him were clearly recognised as the responsible agents of the change.

This zeal of Cornelius, so fruitful in results, was characterised (his biographers record) by an utter disregard of self. Excessive cold or heat, long journeys at night over difficult roads and even in drenching rain, bodily fatigue and suffering, fears for personal safety never held him back from hastening to wherever he thought a soul to be in need of his help. When the plague raged round Chideock,[1] he visited every sick Catholic and explored every avenue of approach to the afflicted Protestants, thus winning many souls to God

[1] Probably in 1593. *Cf.* Two letters of Verstegan to Persons, Nov., 1593, reporting the plague. Stonyhurst MSS. Collectanea B., nn. 51 and 52. *Cf.* Stow, *Annals*, p. 766.

at the point of death. On one occasion he came to know of a poor old man, a Calvinist, lying in a filthy hovel ill unto death and abandoned by all; for the loathsome condition which he was in, covered with running sores and beset by vermin, had made him insupportable to others. He at once hurried to the dying man and afforded him all possible assistance, inspiring him at the same time with hopes of a better life, and gaining for him by his heroic charity the gift of Faith. Having heard his Confession and administered Extreme Unction, he tended him throughout the night, praying by his side till he died. On his return home, his clothes were so covered with filth and vermin from the night's attendance on the sick man that they had to be destroyed.

For the poor he always had great regard, bestowing on them all that came to his hands. The more affluent among his acquaintances he exhorted to be generous in alms-giving, assuring them that by using their riches for the relief of the poor they would never be in want. Later when he was imprisoned, he would look out of the window of his cell and, if he saw any poor persons near by, would throw out money to them, thus increasing by his charity the privations and discomforts of his own imprisonment.

It was not only towards the living that his charity was exercised; to the departed souls also, especially those whom he had known personally, he showed particular devotion. Often during the day he would call them to mind and earnestly recommend them to God; one of his characteristic practices being to say a *De profundis* for them whenever he washed his hands. To relieve and curtain their sufferings, he inflicted penances upon himself, and four times every week offered up the Sacrifice of the Altar for the same intention. On two occasions, his biographers record, departed souls appeared to him to ask the help of his prayers, the most notable vision and the best authenticated being that of Lord

Stourton, during the Mass Cornelius was saying for the repose of his soul.

Through all these years of missionary activity he carefully cultivated close union with God and led a life of great austerity. He kept the strictest guard over his senses, scourged himself frequently, wore a long roughly knotted hair-shirt and fasted four days in the week. Later indeed,when he submitted to the direction of Father Henry Garnet, he was counselled to moderate somewhat his ardour for penance. After the manner of religious life, he appointed fixed hours for his daily tasks and never infringed the rule except for urgent reasons. Every morning at five o'clock he celebrated Mass, during which he frequently shed tears, especially during Holy Week when he read the Passion. Whatever time was not expended in labour for others, he devoted to study and prayer, in which latter exercise he passed long hours prolonged at times far into the night and not infrequently rapt in divine contemplation. On one occasion, a gentleman who had come to consult him found him motionless on his knees with arms crossed and eyes raised to heaven lost to all save God. When by repeated efforts he had brought him to himself, the good Father earnestly begged him not to acquaint anyone with what he had witnessed.

After about two years spent thus zealously at Chideock, Cornelius, who still felt drawn to the religious life, again petitioned to enter the Society of Jesus. Father Henry Garnet, the superior of the Jesuits in England, favoured his request, and in a letter to the General in which he describes him as "a man of notable piety, truly humble and holy," urged his admission in England without the usual period of probation in a regular novitiate abroad. Father Aquaviva seems to have compromised, admitting him at once but with the obligation of going through his noviceship abroad as soon as possible.

The time, however, for this period of rest never came.

Moved by a spirit of revenge, a servant whom Cornelius had reprimanded for annoying by his attentions one of Lady Arundell's maids, secretly gave information to Sir George Morton, High Sheriff of Dorset, of the Father's presence in the house, and with him and Sir George Trenchard, a Justice of the Peace, concerted measures for his capture. They determined to raid the house on Easter Sunday (1594), thinking that on such a festival Mass would surely be said, with many Catholics in attendance. But the martyr, getting wind of the danger, celebrated the Mass an hour after midnight and then, despite all entreaties to remain, hastened to conceal himself in a thick wood some distance away. After two days, seeing that no search was being made for him—for the justices, notified by Holmes of his departure, had called off the raid—Cornelius returned to the house, intending to leave Chideock for a time lest he might endanger by his presence the lives and fortune of the family. He yielded, however, to the persuasions of Lady Arundell and consented to remain. This was duly notified to the justices by the traitor, and early on the second Sunday after Easter[1] a second attempt was made on the house. Cornelius hurriedly betook himself to the hiding place and for five or six hours lay there concealed while Sir George Trenchard searched the house, seizing all the vestments and a quantity of books. Finally Holmes, now disclosing his treachery to all, showed the searchers where the Father lay hid, and on forcing an entrance they found him kneeling in prayer. Hearing the men's shout of triumph at the discovery Dorothy Arundell hastened to the spot and saw Cornelius, she herself relates, " paler in the face than usual, as it seemed to her, but resplendent with an extraordinary light ; by which she was overcome as to be unable to speak either to him or to any one else."

Cornelius was at once charged with being a priest

[1] Raleigh says on the *night* of April 13. Easter Sunday was the 14th.

and straightaway admitted it; but to the question—was he a Jesuit—he replied that he was one of those who loved them. Leading him then into the hall, the magistrates held a preliminary enquiry, in which the different members of the family were interrogated. Thomas Bosgrave, Sir John Arundell's nephew, when his turn came to be questioned, seeing Cornelius standing there bareheaded "like a criminal," boldly approached him and with a bow put his own hat upon the Father's head. The magistrates reprehended him, saying: "Do you thus honour traitors?" "The Catholic priests," he answered, "are faithful to God and man: nor can the epithet of traitor be applied to them." At this the magistrates without further question placed him in custody, telling him that he should bear the Father company. John Carey and Patrick Salmon, both natives of Dublin and servants in the family, were also arrested on the charge of aiding and assisting a priest. Dorothy Arundell[1] was the last to be questioned. To save the other members of the family, she boldly took upon herself all responsibility for the priest's presence in the house. The magistrates, however, were unwilling to place her under arrest, and after allowing Cornelius to take a last farewell of his aged and bed-ridden mother, they departed with their prisoners.

On the next day, the martyr was once more examined; but while acknowledging his priesthood and that he had been in England for ten or eleven years, he refused to say where he had lived for fear of endangering others. For the same reason he denied that he had said Mass at Chideock. Holmes, his betrayer, however, supplied his omissions. He stated on oath that Mass had fre-

[1] Dorothy Arundell was the eldest daughter of Sir John. For some years she had Father Cornelius as her spiritual director. She and her younger sister Gertrude were among the first to enter the newly erected convent of English Benedictine nuns at Brussels (July 11, 1598). They took the habit on Nov. 21, 1599, and made their profession a year later. (Register of Professions, C.R.S., XIV, pp. 175-176; Foley, *Records*, III, 437; Cal. Dom. Eliz., 1598-1601, p. 343).

quently been said in the house and that Thomas Bosgrave had often served it; he accused Carey and Salmon of waiting upon the priests in their rooms, supplied the names of the priests who had been with the Arundell family for ten years past, and gave a list of twenty or thirty Catholics who had attended Mass at Chideock and of one or two persons in the neighbourhood who had entertained the priests.

For the next fortnight Cornelius was kept in free custody in the house of Sir George Trenchard, dining with him daily and having access to his library whenever he pleased. With the family he frequently discussed religious topics and made so deep an impression that the magistrate declared that, if the Father stayed much longer, he would " pervert " them all. One of Trenchard's servants indeed asked and obtained leave to seek another situation where he would not be prevented from professing the Catholic Faith. Protestant ministers also came to dispute. Among them was Dr. Charke, who years before had tried conclusions with Campion in the Tower and had published pamphlets against him, only to feel the power of Persons' pen in reply. Wishing, on this occasion, to impress the bystanders, he asked Cornelius: " Which language would you prefer that we use in our disputation—Latin, Greek or Hebrew ? " " In whatever language you speak," countered the Father, " I shall reply." As to the discussion itself, Trenchard's brother-in-law gave as his judgment that Dr. Charke in comparison with Cornelius was a bad grammarian opposed to a good theologian. Of these controversies with the ministers, Thomas Bosgrave was wont to say that each ended in a double victory for Cornelius, the one of learning and the other of modesty. Two ladies even, ministers' wives, challenged him to dispute, but the Father wisely remanded them back to their needles and spindles, recommending to them the practice of modesty and silence. Sir Walter Raleigh also came to interview

him and, following his frequent practice, entered into a long discussion on religion. In the end he offered to do all he could in London to secure his liberation: an offer which, if it be not interpreted as duplicity on the part of the courtier, argues the very favourable impression made upon him by Cornelius; for certainly his letter to Cecil of an earlier date, announcing the arrest, shows no sympathy with the martyr.[1]

At length, after a fortnight passed thus in Trenchard's house, the magistrate seeing there was no hope of inducing him to conform sent him by order of the Privy Council to London, where he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea. Summoned thence for examination before the members of the Privy Council and violently harangued by them and threatened with torture, he calmly protested that he had done nothing unbecoming a priest or a good subject, and again refused to compromise others by saying where he had lived. Nor did torture, when it was actually applied, wring from him any such information. He was plied too with what was known to the Catholics as the "Bloody Question"—what would he do in case of a Spanish invasion—but cautiously replied that he wished all safety to the Queen and was ready to undergo any personal danger to protect her Majesty from harm. Remanded, after his examination, to prison, he there prepared by prolonged prayer and severe penance for his final combat. It was while a prisoner in the Marshalsea that he penned the following letter to Garnet:—

I have received your Reverence's letter freighted with the gold of charity and full of consolation. It is a grief to me that I am not one of you in number and merit; but a joy that I am so in will and desire; and I hope that when bursting the bonds of this life I pass hence, Father Ignatius of blessed memory will number me among his children: a hope that affords me the greatest consolation. In the meantime I await God's will in

[1] Letter of April 14. Hatfield Calendar, IV, 510. Raleigh, at the execution of another martyr, the Ven. Polydore Plasden, made some attempt to interfere on his behalf. (*Cf.* A. E. M., 112.)

hope and profound silence, making here, with my dearly loved brother Low, my year of probation ; to the end of which I most humbly beg that Our Lord may lead me by the rope. But, 'Domine non sum dignus" and "if I am yet necessary to Thy people I will not shirk the labour." Let my fellow prisoners know, I beg you, Father, whether the letter to Cook gives satisfaction. If this means of prolonging life, or rather of preventing others from committng homicide, be not lawful ; or if it should shock anyone, I will retract it, and do all in my power not to offer any cause for scandal to another. But because God's will is not clear to me, I cry out with Christ : "Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me, but not my will but thine be done." Lest I be suddenly surprised, I hastily break the thread of my letter, humbly begging a frequent and mutual interchange of prayers, commending myself to all my beloved Catholics, whose expectations I hope, with God's grace, to satisfy. Of ourselves we are nothing, but I can do all things in Him who strengtheneth me. It imports me now to know and think of naught else save "Jesus Christ and Him crucified" ; "to glory in nothing but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ," and to beg the Apostle to obtain by his impetration with Christ that I may say with him : "I live now not I, but Christ liveth in me." Farewell, your Reverence, a thousand times, and plead my cause with the Fathers that in this prison I may, if it be possible, quickly become a Jesuit and ascend to heaven. The prayer of such a friend as Currie [who is now in heaven, will win for me the grace] to resist the heretics even unto blood. Unless I am [suddenly] carried off I know not what evil (should be feared). If [your answer about my admission] is an ordinary one, pray do not send it by writing, but by word of mouth.

Your Reverence's most obedient servant,

John in bonds.[1]

The petition of the letter was granted. In prison, in the presence of two laymen and before a religious commissioned by Father Henry Garnet, he pronounced his vows of religion in the Society of Jesus. At this realisation of a desire fostered for so many years his soul was flooded with divine consolation, and in a letter to

[1] The Latin autograph is preserved in the Jesuit archives and is printed in C.R.S., v. 269. The end of the letter is most obscure. Above I give the meaning suggested by the late Father Pollen, C.R.S., v. 270 note.

Dorothy Arundell he declared that the intense delight prison afforded him was beyond belief.

Towards the end of June, after he had passed nearly two months in the Marshalsea, he was sent back to Dorchester to be tried at the Assizes. Before leaving the prison he provided himself with a number of consecrated hosts so as to be able to communicate daily on the journey. On arriving at Dorchester he was handed over to the sheriff, who treated him with unusual kindness. He kept him under guard in his own house, with his private servant as his keeper, and allowed all who wished to visit him. Many Catholics availed themselves of the privilege, and in so open and demonstrative fashion did they testify their love and respect for the martyr that his humility took fright. Suggestions were made to secure his liberation through the influence of those powerful at court, or even to ransom him by money; but he rejected all such proposals, gratefully acknowledging at the same time the charity of those responsible for them. On one such occasion a Catholic merchant happened to approach him while he was saying his office, and told him that he was ready to contribute five hundred pounds towards buying his freedom. Looking up from his book, the Father very gently replied: "God reward you for your great charity; but if you wish to do me a more useful and kinder act, do not, I pray you, distract me in saying my office." And he turned his eyes again to his breviary, while the merchant departed, deeply moved and marvelling at the small account the Father made of his life and of the shameful punishment that was to end it. In his preparations for that death he never relaxed. He passed almost the whole night in prayer and practised such austerities that the sheriff—as he confessed to Dorothy Arundell—thought he would not survive to appear before the court. When informed that the trial was to take place on the morrow, he asked the sheriff, that evening, the singular favour of visiting the

place of execution. The sheriff not only granted his request, but himself accompanied him, and beheld him kneeling before the very gallows wholly rapt in God with eyes and face raised to heaven.

On the following afternoon, July 2nd, in company with Thomas Bosgrave and the two Irish servants John and Patrick, he was led through the streets of Dorchester to the Assize Hall, and was there indicted for being ordained priest beyond the seas, and for exercising his priestly functions. The three laymen were charged with harbouring and assisting a priest. When the customary question was put to him, by whom would he be tried, the Father replied: by men chosen from the Catholic clergy or, failing these, by members of the University of Oxford. This of course was not allowed; and a jury after the usual manner was impannelled. Four of the twelve—who were all Protestants—submitted to the odious task with manifest reluctance, and one protested so strongly that he was withdrawn and another substituted in his place. Father Cornelius then briefly addressed the Court. He admitted the facts, but denied that they were treasonable or that he was a traitor. Counsel for the Crown followed with speeches lasting two hours, in which selected passages were read from the Catholic book[1] found in his possession when captured. When the jury, after a short absence, returned with their verdict of guilty, Bosgrave and the two servants knelt down before the priest and asked his blessing, which he immediately gave them. This created a profound impression, several present being moved to tears; among them a prisoner who a little while before had been condemned to death for robbery. Cornelius, turning to the man, addressed him in the dock, promising him a better life in exchange for the one he was about to lose. His zeal gained quick success; and before the robber's death on

[1] A book denouncing the persecuting edict of 1591; possibly Persons' *Philopater*. Jouvancy states categorically that this was the book.

the morrow, he had made him a convert to the Faith. The jury having pronounced their verdict, the prisoners were at once remanded to Dorchester gaol, the passing of sentence by the judge being deferred to the next day.

In prison Father Cornelius was received, with all joy and reverence, by a number of Catholics incarcerated there for the Faith. Some of them, twenty-two in number, seized the opportunity of his presence in their midst and went to confession. Dorothy Arundell, who had known him and been his penitent for so many years, also visited him; and his parting words to her are a gauge of the fervent dispositions with which he faced his approaching sacrifice:

> Time and again have you heard me desire that God be honoured and glorified. Now I am come to the proof; for to-morrow this miserable body of mine will be cut to pieces. I am weary of this present life. I aspire with longing to the eternal. You see how God has vouchsafed, before I die, to favour me with that grace, I so much desired, of becoming a member of the Society of Jesus. You too have engaged yourself by vow to enter religion. Take care, till you have fulfilled it, ever to foster in your mind so great a promise. Seek the counsel of the Fathers of the Society in the matter. They will gladly advise you for my sake.[1]

Early on the following morning the court was again assembled; and Judge Walmseley pronounced sentence, shedding tears as he did so. He assured the prisoners that life and liberty would be theirs if they would conform and go to the Protestant church; but they firmly rejected the offer. They were then sent back to prison to await their execution. There, Cornelius distributed among the poor Catholic prisoners most of the twenty pounds that Dorothy Arundell had sent him, keeping the rest for distribution on the way to the gallows. A crowd having assembled outside the prison, he showed himself at the open window of his cell, blessed them and seized the occasion to preach a short sermon urging them to follow

[1] Bartoli, *Inghilterra*, p. 359, citing Dorothy Arundell's account.

without faltering the only sure way to eternal life—the Catholic Faith. Then when but half an hour remained before being led to execution, he penned his last message to his penitent Dorothy Arundell :—

"He that loveth his life in this world shall lose it, and he that hateth it shall find it." If I find it by the grace and infinite mercy of God, though in myself miserable and unworthy, with exceeding great satisfaction and never-ending pleasure shall I remember you. In the meantime, whilst the soul remains in this body, pray you for me ; for I have a great confidence that we shall see one another in heaven, if you keep inviolable the word you have given, first to God and then to St. Bridget. I heartily recommend to you my poor mother, and the promise of your vow, concerning which I have written to you three or four times and wonder that you have taken no notice of it. The devil is always upon the watch. Be you also watchful. Signify your will to me that I may carry your resolution with me to St. Bridget. I do not forget those whom I do not name. God have you in his keeping. Yours, John, one about to die for a moment that he may live for ever.

Shortly after one o'clock in the afternoon the order came to make the journey to the gallows. As he left the prison, Cornelius exclaimed : "From the cross to Christ is a glorious passage," and then quietly laid himself down on the hurdle awaiting him. His three companions walked by his side. On the way he conversed aloud with them, encouraging each to constancy ; and a rich man, overhearing his words, was so moved by them, that he asked the Father's blessing, promising that he would become a Catholic. Arrived at the gallows, the first to be hanged was the thief whom Cornelius had converted. He met his death bravely, affirming beforehand that he was a happy man to die in such company. After him came John Carey, "a man of great courage." Kissing the rope, he exclaimed "O blessed collar," then after professing the Faith and declaring that he gladly died for it, he was turned off the ladder. He was followed by his fellow-servant Patrick Salmon. Before dying he admonished the people that the only way to secure their

eternal welfare was to embrace the Faith for which he and his companions laid down their lives. Next suffered Thomas Bosgrave, distinguished alike for his birth, learning and eloquence. He was allowed to address the bystanders without interruption on the part of the ministers; his vindication and praise of the Faith being heard with great attention.

Finally came Father Cornelius's ordeal—a more terrible death than that of hanging; for he was to be cut down alive and quartered. After a short prayer, he kissed the ground and embraced the feet of his companions still hanging on the gallows, uttering the phrase of St. Andrew: "Oh Blessed Cross, long desired, diligently sought for, and now here attained." Having ascended the ladder, he began to address the people, quoting the words of the Psalmist: "They have given the dead bodies of thy servants to be meat for the fowls of the air," but Sir Walter Raleigh, thinking that he might expose the cruelties practised on the Catholics, prevented him from continuing. After further efforts to speak had proved vain, he acquiesced, contenting himself with an acknowledgment of his admission into the Society of Jesus. Then, after praying aloud for his persecutors, for the Queen and for the salvation of all, kissing the rope, he placed it around his neck, and was instantly turned off the ladder in the act of commending his soul to God. He was cut down while still alive, and as the hangman proceeded with his butchery, the martyr raised his hand to his forehead as though to make the sign of the cross, then his arm fell back to his side and he was dead. The body was quartered and buried that evening with those of his three companions. The head of the martyr was nailed to the gallows; but after a fortnight it was taken down at the request of the people who interpreted the incessant rain that was ruining their crops as a visitation from God on account of it.

Leo Hicks.

REFLECTIONS AFTER VISITING RUSSIA

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

AT the present writing it is three months since I returned from Russia. It is quite easy nowadays to obtain a visa to enter the country, if one is not a notoriously hostile journalist—and not a minister of religion! The Soviet Government believes that it has much to show that will enhance its credit in the world, and it does not despise the money that foreign visitors have to spend. They must spend rather a lot; for, owing to the dearness of the roubles under the controlled exchange, Russia is the dearest country I have encountered in my travels. The encouragement of tourist traffic is now part of official policy, but there will need to be much better value offered for money before ordinary tourists are attracted. Those now attracted are, for the most part, earnest students of Socialism, or Americans of Russian descent visiting their birthplace or relatives.

There is much less strangeness in the external aspects of life in Moscow than might be expected in the capital of a Communist country. For Soviet Russia is really Communist in aim and, to a portentous degree, in achievement. Some years ago an English book was published with the title *Bolshevism in Retreat*. I have not read it, but I know it helped to spread the view that the New Economic Policy to which Lenin turned meant that the Soviet policy was reverting to capitalism. My observations produced in me the impression that the rulers of Russia are still resolved to build a society according to the principles of Karl Marx. The fundamental social institutions—religion, marriage and the family, law, government, industry, property—are to be very different in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from what we have known in Christendom.

I would put this first among my reflections. Marxian literature has figured prominently in my studies for twenty years. As a result of what I knew of the development of the British Socialist movement, and what I have read of Socialist movements in Western countries, I had come to believe that Marxism was of no practical importance. Apart from eccentric intellectuals, no educated persons could take Marx seriously. His revolutionary verbiage might serve Socialists when they were no more than mere propagandists; but when they attained a measure of political power and responsibility, they scornfully repudiated it or cynically "revised" it out of recognition, like Modernists with the Apostles' Creed. The practice of Socialist politicians in office has been so independent of Socialist theory, even of "moderate" Socialism, that I had come to think that theory played a very small part in Socialist policy. I began to urge my fellow-workers in the Catholic social movement to give less attention to the repetition of general principles, which sound like platitudes, and more to the formulation of practical reforms.

After my stay in Moscow the old Catholic social platitudes, the principles of Ethics, come back to me with the force of original discoveries. I hope I may be pardoned for striking such a personal note, but tears came into my eyes, when out of Russia and in a German church I heard the choir sing, "*Credo in Deum, Patrem Omnipotentem, Factorem coeli et terrae.*" Three months have passed, and I still retain the feeling that came to me that I should like to spend a year meditating on every word of the Creed, with a theologian to expound it. For the New Russia is a challenge to Christian society, and the New Russia does not stand alone. The challenge comes from a whole modernist world. Russia has revealed to me the strength and possible outcome of the tendencies of the day in Western countries, especially in England, as it is the country with which I am most familiar.

Russia is perhaps the most advanced of countries, the spearhead of modernism. This sounds paradoxical and rhetorical, but I hope to explain why I believe it true.

The material conditions of life for the Russian masses, at least as far as I could see in Moscow, are tolerable enough. The people are sufficiently fed and not overworked, and they have abundant facilities for recreation. Clothing is of the poorest, but the shabbily dressed are at no social disadvantage, for high officials whom I interviewed were among the shabbiest. The housing famine is extreme, but there is no rackrenting; if the accommodation is scanty, it is cheap. There is not equality of incomes in Russia, but there are no really rich people in Russia. The toiling masses feel they are getting their share of the national cake. When I say the "toiling masses," I do not mean the peasants, for I had no real opportunity of testing their feelings. I mean particularly the industrial manual workers, and the Government employees who are not manual workers may be included. The term "worker" in Russia is usually confined to industrial manual workers, and often the word "toiler" is preferred to emphasise that manual workers are meant. It was these who made the Revolution, who are now the privileged class in Russia, who regard themselves and are regarded by others as the ruling class. Russia is really the "Workers' Republic" in the sense that the Government depends almost entirely on the workers for active support, and the Government naturally gives every possible favour to the class on which it depends. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" does not pretend to be democratic or liberal. There are "classes deprived of electoral rights" that suffer from a cruel outlawry. The Bolshevists justify this by saying that the Revolution is still in progress, and the class war has still to be waged. However, I am definitely of the opinion that the Soviet Government is as solidly established as any other Government in Europe. If danger comes, it will come from

the peasants, and I think the Government will bend rather than be broken in a conflict. The peasants will not desire anything in the nature of a restoration of Tzardom, which might threaten a restoration to the landlords of the lands seized by the peasants.

The peasants are not satisfied with the prices paid by the State purchasers for agricultural produce. It is not an extraordinary thing, however, for farmers to think the price of foodstuffs too low. A more important grievance is that the peasants cannot purchase manufactured goods with the money they receive. It is not only that the prices of manufactured goods are high, but that the goods are not able to be bought at all. The Government imposes the severest restrictions on imports, partly to protect the exchange value of the rouble, and partly to protect Russian industries. The disgruntled peasants ca'canny in the growing of grain. This reduces Russia's surplus for export, and the Government then finds it more necessary than ever to restrict imports. There is a vicious circle. The peasants grow less food, because they cannot exchange their surplus produce for manufactured goods, and the Government maintains a stricter exclusion of foreign manufactured goods, because there is no wheat surplus for export. Russia before the war was called the granary of Europe; it had huge wheat exports; last year it had to import wheat from Canada. According to Soviet statistics the agricultural production of Russia is now about the same as in 1913, making allowances for the territories taken from the old Russian Empire; but the population of present-day Russia increases by about three million a year. The pre-war amount of production is therefore totally insufficient, especially as the Russian people are now consuming more food per capita than they did before the war.

The Soviet Government hopes to solve its economic problems by the rapid industrialisation of Russia and by large-scale agricultural production. There are plans for

mammoth State farms, some of them exceeding 300,000 acres, worked by tractors and with every possible operation mechanised. Experts have been brought from America for consultation, and marvellous economic results are promised. If the plans succeed, the political results will be important. The Bolshevists are well aware that the Russian peasants are not at all "socialised," but retain their old, individualistic mentality. If independent peasants can be transformed into, or superseded by, armies of agricultural labourers employed on enormous State farms, they will have more in common with the industrial workers who fit more easily into Communist schemes. The State farms are, as yet, only in the experimental stage. Optimistic Russians speak of them as if they were an assured success, but this is like imprudent investors who mistake the estimates in a prospectus for proved performances.

A considerable measure of success has attended the efforts at industrialisation. Perhaps the most striking triumph has been the Soviet restoration of the Russian oil industry. Every newspaper reader knows that the oil trusts of the world attempted what might be called a blockade of Russia. The trusts firmly believed that the Soviet could not bring Russia's oil industry out of the ruin caused by the war. They believed they could force the Soviet to offer compensation for nationalised properties. The ordinary motorist knows how Russian oil came on the market at a cheaper price than combine oil. The oil trusts, aided by a section of the Press, tried to rouse the public into a boycott of what was called "stolen oil". Despite all opposition, the Soviet Union, by its unaided efforts, increased its oil production to twenty-five per cent. higher than pre-war, and the oil trusts have been glad to come to an agreement with the Soviet.

Other examples of progress could be given. The electrical energy produced in the Soviet Union is now

five billion kilowatt hours, three times the pre-war output. The largest hydro-electric plant in Europe is being erected on the Dnieper river. It will have a capacity of 800,000 horse power, and will supply power for the mining districts as well as making the river navigable for hundreds of miles and irrigating vast regions of arid land.

Social, not less than economic progress, is being made. The death rate in the Soviet Union is now less than 75 per cent. of the rate in 1913. The infantile mortality is only two-thirds of the pre-war rate. More than half the people of the Soviet Union are now literate, as compared with one-quarter of the population able to read and write before the war. I was very much impressed by the spirit of activity and enterprise that I encountered in Moscow and Kharkov, which was the other city I visited. It is true that bureaucracy, which is part of the price that has to be paid for Communism, weighs heavily on enterprise. The Communists admit quite readily that bureaucracy presents them with a great problem, but they have a rather naive confidence that it is not a necessary evil of their system, and they declare they will find a solution. Many of the privations now suffered by the Russians are due to the Government investing all available resources in permanent improvements, which must take time before they yield their full benefits. As Russia cannot get foreign capital for industrialisation, it has to raise capital from its own people by taxation or forced loans, though the expedients adopted do not always bear these names. I do not predict that Communism in Russia will be an economic success, but I am by no means certain of its failure.

The modernist world seeks first the kingdom of material wealth, believing that if it gains this all things will be added unto it. The economic success of the Soviet experiment, making Russia a reliable market for profitable trade, would cover the multitude of Bolshevist sins. I read the other day of an American magnate who

had just returned from Russia and remarked to an interviewer: "Russia is on the right lines. She is putting her money now into economic development instead of into churches and palaces as before the war!" The destruction of religion in Russia, the abolition of marriage, and the establishment of a non-Christian code of morals will be complacently regarded as matters of purely domestic concern if Russia will only pay her debts.

The Soviet Government is actually engaged in a campaign for the destruction of religion. It is perfectly candid about it. I was told by Madame Kameneff, President of the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (a Soviet Department of Propaganda), that religion and Communism were incompatible, and that the Soviet would on no account allow freedom to teach religion, or relax its own campaign of anti-religion.

The only religious liberty allowed in Russia is liberty of worship, and when one reads of crowded churches in Moscow, one may be misled into thinking that religion is given full freedom. One might hear of Catholic churches in Moscow and of processions of the Blessed Sacrament. I myself was able to attend daily Mass in Moscow and to walk in an outdoor procession on Ascension Thursday. There are some churches in Moscow which are occasionally crowded—these being the more popular or venerable churches—on great Feasts; but the worshippers are practically all of the older generation, those who had attained adult age before the Revolution. There are few worshippers under thirty years of age to be seen in Russian churches, except perhaps the tiniest children who are brought by their grandparents.

Of the two Catholic churches in Moscow, one is Polish and the other French. There were large congregations at the Polish church, and it was within the grounds of this church that the procession of the Blessed Sacrament was held on Ascension Thursday. I suppose that at both the Catholic churches the congregations are composed

mostly of non-Russians. Immediately adjoining the Polish church is a Red Club for Polish workers. These Red Clubs are hotbeds of anti-religious propaganda. I speak from a knowledge of the literature and pictures displayed in them, and not only from what I was told. I surmise that the building used as a Red Club for making proselytes to atheism among the Poles in Moscow is confiscated church property. At any rate the use of a building immediately next to a church for atheistic propaganda is typical of the arrogance and aggressiveness of the anti-religious campaign.

The Soviet allows religious worship, but not religious propaganda or religious teaching, except for the sermon which is considered part of the service. Classes for the study of the Bible have been prohibited, so strict is the law against religious teaching. The schools from elementary grades to the University do not pretend to be merely secular or neutral; they are most actively anti-religious. The headmaster of one of the largest schools in Moscow said to me: "We hold firmly and say clearly that we wage war against religion." There are about twelve-hundred children in his school, and he told me that only two or three per cent. of the children had any religious ideas: "they get these from their parents," he said, apologetically, in reply to my question. He added that the school did its utmost to counteract any religious influence that might emanate from parents.

I saw on the walls of school classrooms cartoons ridiculing priests. These, I was told, had been drawn by the children. I saw mottoes written by the children, some of them quite admirable and ethical, and others childishly anti-religious. As for example: "When Science takes a step forward God moves backward."

In Trade Union Clubs, which are very liberally financed, I saw scores of large coloured anti-religious pictures. These are displayed and sold in bookshops, and I brought some specimens home with me. Many of

them are designed to give what might be regarded as legitimate instruction in atheism. They simply put in pictorial form what is contained in the pamphlets of the Rationalist Press in England. They will give pictures of Isis, and Apollo, and an Italian Madonna, and of Our Blessed Lord, and they will call this a representation of the evolution of the idea of God! Another picture will give a remarkable series of illustrations to show biological stages from the amoeba to man. The librarian of a Red Club informed me that this particular picture proved that there was no soul and no after-life. Many of the pictures, however, were nothing more than blasphemous cartoons. The ruling idea is that which the Soviet authorities have inscribed on one of their main buildings in Moscow: "Religion is opium for the people." Religion is being described as more a fraud than an illusion, by which priests impose on the credulity of ignorance, and capitalists use the figure of Our Blessed Lord as a mask behind which they carry on their exploitation of the workers. The Lateran Treaty was then receiving a great deal of attention, and there were many pictures of the Pope and Mussolini arm-in-arm. My schoolmaster told me he was teaching his children that the Lateran Treaty showed the alliance between religion and capitalism. These two powers, feeling their weakness, were uniting for mutual defence against the coming Revolution.

The Communists believed they could afford to allow religious worship to the older people if religious teaching was prohibited and anti-religion taught in all the schools, in the workers' clubs, the Red Army barracks, by newspapers and radio, and by all the means at the Government's command. I said to a very important Government official whose name I am not allowed to mention, but who, I may say, is a Professor of History: "If your policy succeeds, religion will die out when the older generation dies out?" "Yes," he said, "unless religion is innate in human nature." This man, I know, is an

atheist himself, but probably he knows enough of history to know how unprecedented would be the utter extinction of religion in a whole nation. But then the Russian Communist effort against religion is unprecedented; I know of no other instance where dogmatic atheism has been instilled into all the children in all the schools.

Perhaps it ought to be said that Russia has a new religion, the religion of Communism, with Karl Marx as its chief prophet and Lenin as its greatest apostle. There is no shop window without a picture of Lenin. A mausoleum has been built in the centre of Moscow for his embalmed body, and thousands of devotees visit it reverently as a shrine. Children in the kindergarten are shown pictures of Marx and Lenin. The principles of Communism dominate all the teaching in the schools: they are patriotism and religion combined. All young Russians are taught to believe that Russia is the first country in the world to emancipate the masses of the people. They are taught the Marxian dogma of the inevitable transformation of capitalism into Socialism by the method of revolution. The coming of world-revolution is looked forward to as a millennium. It is a common thing for Russian youths to ask tourists in all simplicity: "When are you going to have a revolution in America?" or "Why have not the English workers made a revolution?"

The logic of the materialistic view of life dogmatically inculcated, is seen in the Soviet marriage laws. As far as the law is concerned, there is no longer any marriage in any Christian sense of the word; for there is no promise or even professed intention of permanent union, or the acceptance of mutual responsibilities. "Cohabitation is marriage," said the high official and Professor of History to whom I have referred. Divorce can be had for the asking by either of the parties. No conditions are required before divorce is granted, and no burdens are entailed in getting rid of a partner no longer wanted. The ceremony of marriage is a simple act of registration.

It is performed in the most casual manner, as I found when I visited the Registry Office. A bridegroom, his face unshaven, his cap on his head, was sitting with his elbows on the table while he gave the required particulars to the registrar. I asked the high official what purpose was served by registration if cohabitation was marriage. He replied that registration gave more security to the woman in case of a man denying liability for the maintenance of his offspring. Soviet law makes father and mother equally responsible for the maintenance of children, whether or not the marriage has been registered. The law courts are congested with cases concerning alimony, that is to say, claims by women against men for the maintenance of children. Many of these cases turn upon disputes about paternity. I was told that a very large proportion of the unions made in Russia dispense with registration. This being so, statistics of marriages and divorces are not very satisfactory, but at the Registry Office I visited the registrar told me that they averaged twenty-five marriages a day and ten divorces.

The grant of divorce unconditionally, upon request by either party, is justified by the Communists on the principle that no marriage can be happy if one of the parties has ceased to desire its continuance. The question that one naturally asks is what becomes of the woman and the children after divorce? In Russia no wife is economically dependent on her husband. She has to go out to work and earn wages herself. As her husband has not supported her when married, she is in no worse position when she is divorced. In order to make it possible for mothers to follow wage-earning employment, there are creches at nearly every factory, where babies are deposited during the day while their mothers work. The Soviet system of social insurance gives mothers four months leave of absence with pay, two months before and two months after childbirth. On their return to work they are given time off every three and a half hours

to nurse their children. When children are too old for the creches, they are sent to kindergartens, where they get all their meals. Soviet policy has been to substitute communal institutions for the home. The policy is not so vigorous now as it was a few years ago. There was a time when the Bolshevists put their faith in what were called " closed " childrens' homes, where children were kept all the time and never went to the homes of their parents. The closed institutions proved very expensive to maintain and they had very high death rates, so that they are now not much in favour. There are enough State institutions, however, to make it very easy to dispose of children whose parents do not want to live together. Parents are not relieved of their financial responsibility for children under the age of sixteen. Alimony is deducted from their wages.

Before I went to Russia I knew nothing of the Bolshevik legislation regarding marriage and the family, and it all came to me as a tremendous shock. But I received a greater shock when I found that the English-speaking people, Americans and British, whom I met in Moscow, seemed to take the reversion to pagan morals absolutely for granted, and even to approve of the system of divorce upon application. When I came back to London and talked about my Russian discoveries with responsible people in the journalistic world, I was again astounded to find that what I considered the worst feature in Russia, was regarded by them as the best. More than one responsible person has said to me : " The Russian law of marriage is what we shall come to here." It then came home to me that the most characteristic novels and plays of the present day do take Communist morals for granted. They do take the individual will or whim to be the determining factor in making and unmaking marriage. If two people are no longer happy together, it is tyranny to refuse them a divorce. This is what the Russian Communists say, and what the modern pagans teach.

Communism as it exists in Russia is essentially a propagandist creed. It feels compelled to spread itself throughout the world, both on grounds of theory and practice. One of its main tenets is the certainty and necessity of world-revolution, and it seeks to hasten that revolution. It lives in fear of being attacked by capitalist powers, and it is a measure of self-protection to seek allies among the proletarians of other countries. I think that in the pagan modernist world Russia will win sympathisers not so much among the poor as among all who are in revolt against Christian moral discipline. I can imagine a compromise between the Communism of Russia and the pagan plutocracies of other countries.

If trade with Russia is profitable, there will be no quarrelling about religion or morals. Some day or other the real fight in the world will not be about markets or territories, but about the fundamentals of Christian morality. I know which will be the side of Russia, and which will be the side of Poland; but I am uncertain about other countries, including my own. Bolshevik Russia represents the triumph, not of a particular scheme of economic organisation, but of a materialistic philosophy of life. The same philosophy is already widespread in other countries, but these have not yet had any revolutionary upheaval resulting in the casting away of traditional institutions. There may still be the facade of Christian institutions when the foundations have rotted away, and hardly more than a breath is needed to show the edifice as a palpable ruin. My conviction is that those who hold to Christian faith and morals must make mighty efforts in every sphere, by prayer and work, by spiritual, social, political and intellectual activities, to bring about, as the present Pope would say, the reign of Christ the King. If this is not done, the Western nations may soon be "following Russia" in a more disastrous path than political revolution.

H. Somerville.

FATHER PETER FINLAY, S.J.

February 15, 1851—*October* 21, 1929.

BY MICHAEL F. EGAN, S.J., M.A.

FATHER PETER FINLAY, S.J. died on the 21st of October last, at the age of seventy-eight. He had been ailing for months, but he was not the man to leave his post as long as he could drag himself to it. His last lecture to his Theological class was given on October 2nd. The next day was a free day, so he went to hospital and remained there till he died.

He was born at Cavan in 1851 of mixed Scottish and Irish parentage, and received his early education at St. Patrick's College. It is told that when he was thirteen he offered himself to the Society of Jesus, and was advised to think it over till he was fifteen. Two years later, a fortnight after he had reached the required age, he entered at Milltown Park and began the usual two years' novitiate.

After making his vows he was sent to France to complete his *litterae humaniores*, along with his elder brother, the Rev. T. A. Finlay, S.J., who had entered the Society a few months after himself. The French Jesuits have a great and historic tradition of the art of literary composition in all its aspects, from the writing of a sentence to the planning of a book or a course of lectures. Indeed it is largely to their dominant part in French education for two centuries that modern French prose owes its perfection of form. The two brothers profited abundantly by their opportunities: in an essay-writing competition (in French, of course), they were placed above their French fellow-students.

During this year he received Minor Orders, or rather was supposed to receive them. The incident is charac-

teristic: I heard it related, not so many years ago, by Father Peter himself. All concerned being duly assembled in the Church, a Latin announcement was read out, menacing dire ecclesiastical penalties against anyone who should presume to present himself for Orders without the consent of his Ordinary. The future theologian followed every word and took alarm at once. Surely his Ordinary was the Bishop of Kilmore, at home in Cavan—in this of course he was mistaken, not having studied the canonical status of Regulars—and he felt sure that His Lordship had not been consulted. It seemed that flight was the only way to escape excommunication. Unfortunately, another Latin notice denounced further penalties against anyone leaving the Church before the end of the ceremony. In this desperate situation the youthful aspirant (he was seventeen years of age) decided that the only thing to do was to stand his ground, go up with the others to receive Orders, but withhold his intention. Years afterwards, in Spain, when he was due to receive the Major Orders, a rather puzzled Archbishop heard the story from him, and gave him Minor Orders again, conditionally.

After his time in France he studied Philosophy at Stonyhurst and in Germany, and then taught for a few years as a master at the Crescent College, Limerick, and at Clongowes. Many of his pupils became his devoted and lifelong friends. He had a genius for making and keeping friends. For one thing, he was himself the staunchest of friends, untiringly loyal and kind. Then there was the attraction of a very remarkable personality —he was intensely alive, and to the day of his death no one could think of him as an old man. And with anyone he liked, or merely wished to be kind to, he had a manner of the most winning sweetness. It has often seemed to me that his charm of manner caused him a certain amount of difficulty. It was so hard for anyone experiencing it not to presume upon it, to take it for granted that one

had been admitted into the inner circle of his friends. And if one did, it soon became clear that there was a mistake; that he was really a very reserved man and not at all a spendthrift of affection.

Following the usual Jesuit routine, after a few years of teaching he went to his theological studies, which he made in Spain. Here it became clear that Theology was to be the chief work of his life. His ability was outstanding, and he concluded his course with a brilliantly successful public defence or "Grand Act." Then he was sent to Milltown Park to teach Philosophy; after that as Professor of Theology to St. Beuno's (N. Wales), to Woodstock in Maryland, and lastly in 1889 to Milltown Park. There he lectured for just forty years.

His gifts as a teacher were very great: the incisive quality of his mind, which seemed to cut a subject open as with a sharp knife; his large grasp of his subject matter and his fine sense of order and form, which gave a harmonious unity to a course of his lectures, reminding one of great architecture or orchestral music; his flow of exquisitely precise speech. I still remember after a quarter of a century the mixture of delight and bewilderment with which I first heard the torrent of his perfect Latin, through which his ideas shone out as clearly as pebbles in a brook.

He was very well read in Scripture and in the Fathers, as was befitting; but he was above all a metaphysical theologian, saturated with the doctrine of the great Spanish Jesuit School of the early seventeenth century. His presentation of his subject was strictly and severely logical. He might have been dealing with Geometry or Chemistry, so entirely did he avoid any appeal to the emotions, or to the sense of poetry or mystery, or even to what we mean when we talk of the religious sense. His function was not to teach the virtue of Religion but the science of Theology. He felt very strongly the need of isolating, for purposes of study, the intellectual and logical

framework of belief. He did not hold, of course, that religion lives by reasoning or that unbelievers can be converted by mere argument. Theology is but the skeleton of religion: which is to say that it has a vitally important function in relation to religion. And there can be no doubt that an austerely objective, almost unsympathetic, analysis of the foundations of the Christian Faith and of the content of its message is an admirable discipline for those who are to be Christian teachers.

Father Finlay carried this detachment very far. Though he was not an orator, he had many of the gifts of an advocate in a very high degree; but he would never use those gifts in the defence of the Church's teaching or of his own theological views. These had to stand on their own merits, with no other aid from him than a lucid and critical exposition. But when he had occasion to state the case for the enemy, he could be marvellously persuasive. At the academic discussions or "circles," which occupy a very prominent place in the Jesuit system —as indeed they do in many others, wherever in fact the tradition of the mediaeval schools has been preserved— it would happen at times, if he thought the case for the opposition had not been put strongly enough, that he would put it himself. On these occasions he would often desert the Latin of his lectures for English; he would use the simplest language and drive home his point with homely and apt illustrations. Any attempt to escape from the difficulty under a cloud of learned-sounding words became the target for his terribly quiet sarcasm. And often his argument had a touch of human appeal that made it all but irresistible. And when he had torn his own thesis to shreds, he would go away with an enigmatic smile, leaving a bewildered class to make what they could of the puzzle. If he were asked later for the solution, he would give it in a few clear, cold, trenchant phrases; but he preferred that his pupils should work it out for themselves.

But he would never use this gift of advocacy—or power of salesmanship, if you like—in the service of his own theses, whether they embodied Catholic doctrine or the views of a particular Catholic school. I think he felt that such arts would degrade the service of Truth. Not of such bricks, but of pure intellectual marble, should her holy temple be built. It was hard not to regret sometimes that he was so fastidious. No one, of course, would wish him to descend to special pleading; his scornful avoidance of it was a title to esteem and confidence. But without any disloyalty to truth, he might perhaps at times have given his class a less rarefied atmosphere to breathe; he might have put his own side of the case with something of that homely, man-to-man air that sat so well on him when he was pleading the adversary's cause.

This regret is better justified in regard to his books, *Divine Faith* and *The Church of Christ*, containing the lectures he delivered as Professor of Theology in the National University. His class of professional theological students at Milltown Park might well be expected to endure the cold of the heights. But these books were written in English for a wider audience. They are admirable in arrangement, in lucidity of exposition, in cogency of argument. But how very much more powerful their appeal would have been if he had allowed himself to use all his gifts!

Father Finlay's intellectualism involved another limitation. His was what the French are fond of describing as a "geometric mind." He loved clear-cut statements and was impatient of vagueness. His mind saw with perfect clearness to the limits of its vision: he saw clearly or not at all; and when he did not see, he was perfectly aware of the fact. This bent of his mind was probably reinforced by his Spanish Jesuit training. Suarez, Lugo, Ripalda are clear if they are anything. They loved precise definitions and were impatient of half-lights: the Spanish sun makes fierce lights and

black shadows. But in peering into the Mind of God, one must often be content with glimpses and hints, and it is hard to be precise without being narrow. To give an example which some of Father Finlay's old pupils will appreciate: it was an intellectual delight to hear him expound Ripalda's *De Ente Supernaturali;* but its frigid perfection made one long for a developed exposition of St. John's and St. Paul's teaching on the wonders of Divine Grace and the union of man with God.

But when all that can be has been said in criticism, it remains true of his writings and his teaching that every word he wrote or spoke was significant. Readers of STUDIES will remember his articles on the Doctrinal Authority of Bishops (in 1918, during the Conscription crisis), on Socialism, on Divorce. These all dealt with living and burning issues, and they were typical of the man. They cut to the root of the matter; the unadorned style, cold and restrained, was a perfect vehicle of the unsparing logic; they were steeped in Catholic doctrine. And all that he wrote (it was not much, if we count by pages), had the same quality. Forty years ago he took a chief part in conducting the *Lyceum*, a periodical that ran a brilliant course for a few years and is not yet entirely forgotten. Catholic schools of social ethics on the Continent were startled by his articles in it on the rights of property. His views seemed to them to savour of Socialism. He was content to state his case with perfect clearness but without any emphasis, to quote a formidable array of the greatest names among Catholic Doctors in its favour, and to leave the matter there. If his statements, then or at any other time, brought trouble, the trouble did not penetrate to his soul. Indeed I cannot help thinking—having sometimes noticed a sparkle in his eye and an added suavity in his manner when trouble of one kind or another seemed to be in the air—that he never quite conquered his natural love of a fight.

He was so much taken up with questions of doctrine

and polemics that his work for devotion and charity might easily pass unnoticed, the more so that he seemed to wish to hide it. He gave of his best, all his energy and influence, to such organisations as the Catholic Truth Society, the Catholic Rescue Society, and many others. He had a great part in establishing the week-end retreats at Milltown Park; he himself during his life gave innumerable retreats both to Religious Communities, to priests, and to lay-folk. His counsel and direction were eagerly sought, and it would be difficult to form any estimate of the number—it was certainly extremely large—of young people of either sex whose careers in life, whether in the world or in the cloister, were happily settled by his advice. Many have testified to the almost overpowering impression made upon them by his combination of intellect, personality, and holiness. His confessional in the little village chapel of Milltown was frequented by rich and poor in great numbers. When he died, the laundry-girls of Milltown, not being able to attend his funeral, went in a body across the city to Gardiner Street the evening before it, to be present at least when his remains were brought to the Church.

It was evident to all who ever lived with him that he was most strict in religious observance and most rigorous in self-denial; but a certain shyness hid from all but a very few the depth of his simple faith and piety. It was my fortune to see much of him during his last short illness; and I shall always treasure the memory of the moment when he received the Last Sacraments. The sisters and nurses who watched him night and day, accustomed to sickness and death and not at all predisposed to take an emotional or sentimental view, were profoundly impressed by his attitude in face of death. It was something quite unusual, they said. And one of them, summing up their impressions, said: "It was the death of a saint."

M. F. Egan.

HENRY GRATTAN AND CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

BY DENIS GWYNN.

OF the three most famous figures among the earlier protagonists of Catholic Emancipation, John Keogh was a self-made Catholic merchant who devoted himself to wrecking the penal system which had kept himself and his friends in subjection; Edmund Burke was the son of an Irish Catholic mother, and married an Irish Catholic wife; while Henry Grattan alone was a member of the Protestant landlord class. His alliance with the Catholic movement was solely and entirely the result of his own generous sympathies and of his own political creed. A Protestant landlord, he accepted as a matter of course the arrogant attitude of the Protestant gentry, who regarded the Protestant ascendancy as the indispensable condition of sound government. But in sharing the aristocratic prejudices and assumptions of his age, he was one of the few among his own class who held that *noblesse oblige*. And, in seeking to strengthen and dignify the existing Protestant ascendancy, he devoted himself to establishing it upon a new foundation of justice and national status. From his earliest association with the Irish Volunteers, he led and largely created the small section of generous landlords who realised that the claim to national independence was an illusion unless it was based upon the admission of all the Irish people to the rights of citizenship. So, it was chiefly Grattan's personal idealism that persuaded the famous Dungannon Convention of the Volunteers to pass a resolution welcoming the recent reliefs granted to the Catholics; and when the demand for legislative independence succeeded and the Irish Parliament had to consider

how much of the penal code should remain in force, Grattan stated his own unfailing conviction thus :—

> The question is now whether we shall grant Roman Catholics the power of enjoying estates—whether we shall be a Protestant settlement or an Irish nation ? Whether we shall throw open the gates of the temple of liberty to all our countrymen, or whether we shall confine them in bondage by penal laws ? So long as the penal code remains, we never can be a great nation. The penal code is the shell in which the Protestant power has been hatched ; and now it has become a bird, it must burst the shell or perish in it.

But Grattan's eloquence usually passed unheeded ; and in the excitement of the following years the Catholic question could not command any sympathetic hearing in the Irish Parliament. It was not until about 1790 that Grattan's connection with the Irish Catholic agitation became really intimate. The French Revolution had created a new necessity for placating the Catholics in England and in Ireland, and in 1791 Pitt gave every encouragement to the English Catholic Relief Bill, and was of real assistance in reconciling the conflict between the anticlerical Catholic Committee and the English bishops. But in Ireland no such Act followed the example of the English Parliament ; and Grattan threw his energies into supporting the demand by the Irish Catholic Committee for similar concessions. The Irish Government under Lord Westmorland's Viceroyalty was strongly antagonistic to the Catholic claims, and its attitude of stubborn refusal made the Catholics look for encouragement to the new revolutionary doctrines which were being put in practice in France, and for assistance to the Dissenters of Ulster who were becoming wildly enthusiastic for the Revolution. Grattan saw the danger of such a combination, and in one of his florid phrases he urged the people to " touch not this plant of Gallic growth ; its taste is death, though 'tis not the tree of knowledge."

Lord Westmorland's deliberate insults to the Catholics decided them to apply direct to London for

relief. John Keogh learned, during his mission to London in 1791, that Pitt was in favour of their obtaining the same reliefs as had just been granted to Catholics in England; and after Keogh's return to Ireland, the Catholic Committee formally applied to the Irish Opposition to take up their cause. Their application was referred to the Whig Club in Dublin, but it was so lukewarm in their support that they decided to keep clear of any definite alliance with the Opposition. Grattan himself was very chary of identifying himself with their movement, but his sympathies were strongly on their side. He held that the Catholic question ought to be identified with no party, and would be impeded by being attached to an Opposition which had no power to secure their relief. His advice was sound. It left Hobart, as a member of the Government, free to support their cause in Parliament, besides enlisting the aid of Edmund Burke's friend, Sir Hercules Langrishe, who at the end of 1792 introduced his Bill, which was actually seconded by Hobart, to permit Catholics to practise in the legal profession, to intermarry with Protestants, to have more than two apprentices in trade, and to have liberty of education and of teaching in schools without asking permission.

But while Langrishe's Bill—which introduced such important reliefs, though it fell far short of satisfying the Catholic agitation—was passed without serious difficulty in 1792, Lord Kenmare and Archbishop Troy in Dublin had, only a few months earlier, been so intimidated by Lord Fitzgibbon and the Protestant ascendancy party that they had sent an obsequious address to the Viceroy which deplored any sort of Catholic agitation and expressed "perfect submission to the laws and most grateful and dutiful attachment to his Majesty's person and Government."

Grattan had refused to be overawed by the blustering of Fitzgibbon and his diehard friends. His attitude was all the more creditable because his constituents urged

him to desist from his support to the Catholics. The Corporation of Dublin had expressly petitioned him to oppose all further relief to the Catholics and to support the Protestant ascendancy above all things. Grattan replied adroitly that it was the Government who had jeopardised the Protestant ascendancy by their attempts to corrupt Parliament and to establish a ministerial ascendancy instead. He himself, of course, remained an unqualified supporter of Protestantism. "The Roman Catholics, whom I love," he said, "and the Protestants, whom I prefer, are both, I hope, too enlightened to revive religious animosities." And in the debate on Langrishe's Bill he explained his point of view thus :—

> Protestant ascendancy I conceive to be twofold : First, your superiority in relation to the Catholic ; second, your strength in relation to other objects. To be the superior sect is a necessary part, but only a part, of your situation. To be a Protestant state, proud and able to guard yourself and your island against those dangers to which all states are obnoxious, is another part of your situation. In the one point of view, I consider you as a victorious sect ; in the other, as the head of a growing nation, and not the first sect of a distracted land rendered by that division a province and not a nation. It would be my wish to unite the two situations . . . .
>
> The progressive adoption of the Roman Catholics does not surrender, but ascertains the Protestant ascendancy ; it does not give the Catholic the power to shake the establishment of your constitution in Church or State or property. It gives him immunities, and it makes Catholic privileges Protestant power. I repeat, that the interdict makes you two sects and its progressive repeal makes you one people ; placing you at the head of the people for ever, instead of being a sect for ever without a people, equal perhaps to coerce the Catholics, but obnoxious, both you and the Catholics, to be coerced by any power. . . . . The removal of all disabilities is necessary to make the Catholic a free man and the Protestant a people.

Yet even in befriending the Catholics from this definitely Protestant standpoint and avowedly in the interests of the Protestant ascendancy themselves, Grattan

encountered fierce opposition in the Irish Parliament. "I could hardly obtain a hearing," he used to say afterwards. As to Denis Browne (who always supported the Catholics), he could not be heard at all; they would not listen to him. "I spoke against the sense, Browne against the noise of the House, and he was abused, insulted, and covered with reproaches." But Grattan never mitigated the vehemence of his own appeals. In another famous speech he denounced "the final and eternal doom to which some gentlemen propose to condemn the Catholics":—

> Some have said they must never get the elective franchise. What! never be free? Three million of your people condemned by their fellow-subjects to an everlasting slavery, in all changes of time, decay of prejudice, increase of knowledge, the fall of Papal power, and the establishment of philosophic and moral ascendancy in its place. Never be free! Do you mean to tell the Roman Catholic, it is in vain you take oaths and declarations of allegiance; it would be in vain even to renounce the spiritual power of the Pope and become like any other Dissenter; it will make no difference as to your emancipation. Go to France—go to America—carry your property, industry, manufactures, and family to a land of liberty. This is a sentence which requires the power of a God and the malignity of a demon. You are not competent to pronounce it.

The vigour and sincerity of Grattan's speeches naturally made the Catholics regard him as an invaluable ally; and in private he gave them generous assistance. Wolfe Tone's autobiography contains many references to his consultations with Keogh and other Catholic leaders. By the summer of 1792, when the Catholics had already replaced Richard Burke by Wolfe Tone as their political agent, the movement was becoming so active that Grattan already anticipated that the Government would probably prosecute the chairman of the Catholic Committee during the winter. Grattan and Keogh and Tone fully discussed what should be done in such an event; and whereas Tone suggested that the

whole General Committee should rise and follow their chairman to his trial, Grattan's more sedate advice was that they should continue to elect a new chairman as soon as each of the leaders was marched off to court. It had been decided—largely on Grattan's advice, according to his son's account of the private meeting—that the General Committee should assemble in Dublin as a Convention to prepare an address to the King over the heads of the Irish Parliament. Grattan was in constant consultation with Keogh and his friends while the preparations were on hand; and Tone records how Grattan himself rewrote considerable passages of the Catholic manifesto in reply to the Grand Juries when it was submitted to him. Tone wrote down the passages at Grattan's dictation in his house; and afterwards Grattan took him aside and asked that Tone should act as the sole intermediary between himself and the Catholics, in order that Grattan might remain clear of any direct dealings with the Catholics which would lend colour to the accusation that he had fomented the Catholic agitation. Next day Grattan repeated the same request, and further cautioned Tone "not to lay himself under pecuniary obligations to Keogh." As Protestants, Grattan and Tone understood one another, while neither was ever quite at home among the Catholics. But it was a strange combination, between Grattan with his strict views of constitutional propriety and Tone who counted upon the Catholic Convention, which Grattan was encouraging, as the first decisive step towards a revolutionary overthrow of the old *régime*.

Grattan soon found indeed that the agitation was gathering momentum much faster than he had expected. The Convention in Dublin was followed by the dispatch of a deputation headed by John Keogh to see the King in London; and the interview took place on January 3, 1793. Grattan and his friends, Lord Donoughmore and Lord Moira, were in London at the time. But their delight

at Keogh's success in thus circumventing the Government in Dublin soon changed to dismay, when they found how far a direct appeal to the King involved giving the English ministers a right to override the independence which they had won for the Irish Parliament. Pitt now actually promised to concede the forty-shilling franchise to the Irish Catholics. Even if it did not at once displace the Protestant ascendancy in Parliament, this sweeping concession must obviously undermine their whole position by giving a vast preponderance of votes to the Catholic peasantry. Creevey has recorded the account given to him by Lord Donoughmore afterwards, of the importunity with which Grattan and he had besought the Ministers in London to moderate their concessions. They gave Pitt the most solemn assurance that Keogh and his friends had never expected anything more than a £5 franchise, and that they would have been quite glad to accept even a £20 qualification for Catholic voters. But Pitt had resolved upon a policy of uncompromising conciliation towards the Catholics while the war with France was approaching. He had also suffered so much annoyance from the attitude of Grattan and his Patriot group in the Irish Parliament that he was determined to humiliate them. He knew that the Irish Parliament, even after passing Langrishe's Bill, had had the Catholic petition for admission to the franchise removed with insult from the table of the House. Keogh's arrival in London, to protest to the King personally against the Irish Parliament, gave him a supreme opportunity of punishing the arrogance of the Irish ascendancy; and when Grattan, the acknowledged champion of the Irish Catholics, came to him privately to obstruct concessions to the Catholic deputation in London, the opportunity of humiliating the author of Irish legislative independence was too precious to be missed.

Grattan can have had few more distressing experiences in all his frustrated career than when he found Pitt out-

bidding him in this way for the favour of the Catholics. The Catholics themselves never forgot this occasion, when Pitt had shown himself to be, at least potentially, their most powerful ally. Recollection of it determined their own attitude subsequently towards the Union, when they decided to support Pitt's policy, with its promise of emancipation as a sequel to the Union, rather than follow Grattan in his vague promises of national glory if they would unite with the Protestant gentry in resisting the extinction of the Irish Parliament. Wolfe Tone noted his change of attitude after Keogh's deputation had returned from London. Even Keogh had agreed to discourage all further agitation, once the Government had promised the great Relief measure of 1793; whereas Tone had regarded the recent Convention as only the first act of a great revolutionary drama. But Grattan himself was already as ardent as Burke against the French revolution. The Catholics, he had written to McCan in December, " must avoid Republican principles and French politics. The situation of France may give them strength; but its proceedings must never be an example." And within a month after Keogh's interview with the King, Tone records: " It is observable that last night 20,000 army and 16,000 militia were voted by the House of Commons, and that Opposition, and particularly Grattan, were as earnest in the measure as the Treasury Bench. They are a fine set, to be sure, altogether. Grattan dreads the people as much as Monck Mason "—(which was saying a great deal !).

Throughout the following year, however, all agitation ceased. It did not revive until Pitt's reconstruction of his Cabinet and the appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam as Viceroy suddenly gave to the Catholics abundant reason for believing that the last stage of their emancipation—including their admission to Parliament—was already at hand. There was delay in announcing Lord Fitzwilliam's appointment, but it was preceded by free discussions

with many politicians. He exchanged his views freely with Grattan by letter; and Grattan had several meetings with Pitt in London, at Pitt's own invitation, in which the outlines of the new policy of conciliation was clearly decided. Grattan refused to join the Ministry himself; but, from the time of Lord Fitzwilliam's arrival, their political association could not have been more intimate. Fitzwilliam's clear instructions had been that he must discourage all agitation by the Catholics, but if the agitation became uncontrollable, he was to yield to it. The delay in his appointment had given time for it to revive on an unprecedented scale. Many of the former Protestant opponents had by now been won over, in view of the immense concessions granted in 1793, and a majority for emancipation in the Irish Parliament was already assured. Meetings were being held everywhere and resolutions passed demanding immediate emancipation. Fitzwilliam realised, within the first days after his arrival, that it was utterly impossible to discourage an agitation which had already swept the country. He wrote at once to London to express his conviction that concession must not be delayed; and when he had received no reply to several letters insisting upon the urgency of giving way, he authorised Grattan to introduce a Bill for complete Catholic emancipation.

Had Pitt not suddenly intervened, cancelling all his former instructions to Fitzwilliam, the triumph of 1829 would have been accomplished by Grattan's Bill before O'Connell had yet been called to the Bar. Resistance by Dublin Castle had become quite impossible, unless the British Government decided upon a new era of military coercion—a change of policy which no one foresaw and least of all when a pro-Catholic Viceroy had just been sent over with a definite understanding that emancipation might be granted. But Fitzwilliam had raised a hornets' nest when he attempted to purge Dublin Castle of the corrupt system over which the Beresfords

presided. Lord Fitzgibbon had dashed over to London to see Pitt, and urged him, as an alternative policy, to desist from all further concessions so that the Irish Parliament might become intolerably unpopular and an Act of Union might become possible. Pitt made up his mind at once, and Fitzwilliam was recalled within a few weeks; while Grattan's Bill—which had been certain of passing until Pitt intervened—was now faced with the certainty of defeat at the hands of the great borough-proprietors whom Pitt controlled.

In the consternation and dismay that followed upon Fitzwilliam's recall, addresses expressing infinite gratitude to Grattan poured in from Catholic associations and gatherings all over the country. He himself could see no immediate hope in the new situation, and it was to grow increasingly darker as the *régime* of coercion developed. In Parliament one speaker after another poured scorn on the venal spirit of the majority who had been avowedly ready to emancipate the Catholics and now obediently voted against their consciences at Pitt's command. But Grattan's eloquence and scorn were more utterly ineffective during the following years than at any time when his matchless oratory was lavished upon forlorn hopes. Repression of the Catholics quickly developed into active persecution. The Orange Society was founded in Ulster, with every encouragement from the Government, and before long a stream of Catholic refugees came flocking south from the unceasing outrages inflicted upon them in the northern counties; while, in the west, magistrates took the law into their own hands and tried to break up the rapidly extending activities of the United Irishmen Society by deporting Catholic young men under military escort and forcing them into the naval service. By 1797 the Opposition found all further protest so hopeless that Grattan and his friends solemnly withdrew from the House of Commons, and did not return to it

until after the rising of 1798 had been suppressed with atrocious brutality.

Grattan was singled out at once for reprisals in the campaign of repression after the rebellion. His name was struck from the roll of the Privy Council, and he was expelled from membership of the Royal Dublin Society and other institutions which had lavished honours upon him before. Pitt's plan for achieving the destruction of the Irish Parliament by driving the people into revolt had worked with unmitigated success. Only the last act was now to be played; and Grattan, returning for a final effort to save the Irish Parliament from extinction, found himself deserted by the Catholics. They had come to realise his own inability to do anything for them. Castlereagh, arriving in Dublin as Chief Secretary after 1798, proceeded with dexterous diplomacy to gain the confidence of the Irish hierarchy and the Catholic leaders, asking for their support in restoring order, expressing his own sympathy and that of Pitt with the Catholic demands, and promising with increasing clearness that Catholic emancipation would follow as soon as the war ended—and possibly as soon as the Union had been carried. For the Irish Parliament—which even Grattan had found intolerable in the past few years—the Catholics had no longer any use whatever. Archbishop Troy in Dublin and Bishop Moylan in Cork became the leaders of a determined effort to enlist all the Catholic forces on the side of the Union; and the quite unabashed promises of emancipation after the Union which were made by the Viceroy Cornwallis, whose personal honesty and integrity were generally admitted, removed all further hesitation. So, while Grattan thundered with immortal oratory inside the Irish Parliament House against the cold-blooded buying of votes by which the Union was carried, the Catholics looked on without even showing him sympathy. They were already hoping for deliverance by the extinction of their oppressors. Only a few isolated

Catholics here and there—including the young barrister Daniel O'Connell—still raised a warning voice against the duplicity of Pitt.

Pitt's triumph was now apparently complete. Grattan could do no more than prophesy impotently how the British Government would regret its treachery and its coercion. He was elected to the British Parliament, and before long his extraordinary eloquence and sincerity at least filled the House of Commons whenever he had a speech to deliver. Having seen the collapse of all his idealistic hopes concerning the Irish Parliament, Grattan found scope for his energies still in raising the Catholic question at Westminster. He had not foreseen how quickly retribution was to fall upon Pitt for his duplicity towards the Irish Catholics. But Pitt's sudden downfall was a very feeble consolation. While the Addington Ministry held office, the Catholic question had not the slightest chance of obtaining a hearing. But events in Europe at last brought Pitt back into control; and the Irish Catholics—who had been solemnly assured, on his behalf, by Castlereagh that his resignation was the result of his unwillingness to desert their cause—felt that the tide had turned once more. They approached Pitt with a petition that he should take up their claims, and, to their dismay, Pitt told them bluntly that he not only refused to advocate Catholic emancipation now, but would be obliged to oppose such proposals from any other quarter.

Once more Grattan had the melancholy satisfaction of seeing his own prophecies of evil fulfilled; and the more pleasant, though scarcely less futile, gratification of being able to turn to his old ally Fox, to invite his advocacy of a just cause which Pitt now opposed against his own convictions. Fox accepted the invitation with alacrity, and in May, 1805, Grattan and he were the principal speakers on behalf of the Irish Catholics' petition. "Mr. Fox," wrote Bishop Douglass in his diary, recording

his own attendance at the debate, "made a most comprehensive and masterly speech; he was answered by our enemy Dr. Duigenan, to whom Mr. Grattan gave a most severe dressing in one of the most brilliant and impressive speeches ever delivered." The debate lasted till 3 a.m. and was continued next day, when "Mr. Fox, just before the division took place, replied very ably to all the arguments of those who opposed the motion, and closed with a most animated appeal to the House; but all in vain." The motion was rejected by 336 to 124.

In the years of disillusionment that followed, conditions changed much. Grattan, who had always distrusted Pitt, did not share in the revulsion of feeling which swept the Irish Catholics, who had relied completely upon the promises of his agents. They had never regarded the Protestant Parliament in Dublin with the deep affection which Grattan felt towards it from his boyhood till his death. So, when Pitt betrayed them, they had to reconsider the conditions and compromises which they had been willing to accept as the price of Pitt's and Castlereagh's support. The four Irish Archbishops and all the six other episcopal trustees of Maynooth College had actually agreed to accept a veto by the Government upon the appointment of Catholic bishops, as part of the settlement which Castlereagh had proposed. Now that Pitt and Castlereagh had played them false, they withdrew, in sullen and angry opposition, all their offers of compromise. Grattan, on the other hand, had been exploring the possibilities of winning a majority for Catholic emancipation at Westminster, and he saw the evident hopelessness of gaining support except by promising ample guarantees against any political interference by the Holy See. The difference between his attitude and theirs became apparent in the debates in 1808, when Grattan presented the usual petitions for relief from the Irish Catholics, in a speech which for the first time introduced the Veto proposals at Westminster. His speech

showed that, as a Protestant, he personally even desired such a veto, quite apart from the necessity for allaying anti-Catholic suspicions. Napoleon's power over the Pope at the time strengthened these traditional fears, and Grattan pointed to the danger of so many Catholics in the British army and navy being subject to the unrestricted jurisdiction of the Pope while Napoleon's influence over the Holy See remained so strong. To meet that danger, Grattan now proposed that the King should have at least a negative voice in the appointment of Catholic bishops. He even held out the suggestion that such power, vested in the King, must tend to unite the Protestant and Catholic Churches within his dominion. But even these dangerous proposals were quite insufficient to allay Protestant apprehensions, and the Irish Catholics —who in 1795 had seen emancipation within their immediate reach—realised once more, when Grattan's motion was outvoted by 281 votes to 128, how tragically they had blundered in accepting the false promises of Pitt and Castlereagh.

The idea which Grattan thus sponsored publicly, gained support as the years passed, and before long the English Catholic Committee, directed with great diplomatic ability by its secretary Charles Butler, had quite definitely adopted the veto proposals as their own solution of the question. The more aggressive anticlericals among them were as whole-heartedly in favour of the veto as Grattan himself. The rest regarded the veto as an indispensable and quite reasonable concession to Protestant prejudice. The climax of the controversy came in 1813 when Canning, who had long aspired to be the agent of Catholic emancipation in Parliament, proposed a modification of Grattan's Relief Bill which was brought forward in that year.

Opposition to Catholic emancipation had weakened steadily as the Veto proposals took more definite shape, and in June 1812 Canning had actually carried his resolu-

tion in favour of concession to the Catholics by 235 votes to 106, while it was rejected by only one vote in the House of Lords. In February 1813, Grattan brought forward his own resolution in favour of the Irish Catholics, and secured its passing by a majority of 40. A fortnight later he carried a second resolution through Committee by 186 votes to 119; and, encouraged by these dramatic successes, Grattan at the end of April brought forward a short Bill for Catholic Relief. In its original form it was simply to admit Catholics to Parliament and to all military or naval ranks, and also as magistrates and members of corporations. Its only "security" was a stringent oath of allegiance. But the Bill was scarcely introduced when Canning, fearing that it would be lost unless "securities" were added, gave notice of additional clauses which were to create two separate Commissions for England and Ireland, composed chiefly of Catholic peers and landowners, who should advise the King on the appointment of all bishops and deans and have power to inspect any Bulls or dispensations received from Rome. Opposition to these clauses from the Irish hierarchy was declared immediately, and Canning found it necessary to withdraw them for amendment. After a formal consultation with Lord Castlereagh he proposed that the Commissions should include the Archbishops of Dublin and Armagh and the Vicar Apostolic of the London District, but still left a majority of Catholic laymen to compose the Commissions.

Whatever prospects Grattan's original Bill may have had of passing, the addition of Canning's clauses wrecked them completely. Bishop Milner rushed up to London and published his "Brief Memorial," denouncing the Bill as one which could only outrage Catholic sentiment and cause a schism in the Church; while the Irish hierarchy, meeting in Dublin, passed resolutions condemning it utterly. But the Bill proceeded, with the strong support of the English Catholic Committee.

Milner's feverish efforts to defeat it seemed even likely to be unavailing, until an unexpected crisis developed during its Committee stage. The Speaker was so intensely hostile to the admission of Catholics as legislators that he solemnly left the chair to take part in the debate, and in the small hours of the morning an amendment was carried to exclude them from Parliament, which deprived the Bill of its principal concession. After a hurried consultation, its supporters decided that what was left of the Bill was not worth saving; and it was there and then withdrawn.

Grattan, who had worked so long to emancipate the Catholics, now found himself denounced furiously in Ireland by O'Connell for having been concerned in an open attack upon the moral authority of the bishops. His zeal on their behalf, from the standpoint of an Irish Protestant, had in fact caused a bitter conflict between the Irish and the English Catholics which was to last for generations. The feud was to be intensified by the sequel to the Bill, when the English Catholic aristocracy succeeded in obtaining from Mgr. Quarantotti as the delegate of the imprisoned Pope a Rescript declaring that the Bill ought to have been accepted. To the English Catholics Grattan became a hero and their champion; while in Ireland he became distrusted and unpopular. He had acted from conviction throughout, and though the Canning clauses were not his work, he declared henceforward that he would present no more petitions from the Irish Catholics until they were willing to show a more "conciliatory" frame of mind. The attitude of the English Catholics convinced him that there was no question of religious principle involved; and for several years his efforts for Catholic emancipation ceased.

Once again, however, in May 1817, Grattan raised the Catholic question in the Commons, but Peel's determined opposition defeated his motion by 245 votes to 221.

Parliament dissolved after George III's death, and in the new Parliament Grattan was elected for the city of Dublin. After a few months, his health failing fast, he came over to London in May determined to raise the Catholic question again. But his strength was very nearly exhausted; and one of the very last friends who saw him was Charles Butler, who has left a vivid description of their final interview. On June 1st Butler called at his house, but was told that he was extremely ill. Grattan, however, on learning that he had come, insisted upon seeing him.

> It was evident [writes Butler] that he touched the moment of his dissolution; but the ethereal vigour of his mind was unsubdued, and his zeal for the Catholic cause unabated. He pressed the writer by the hand. "It is," he said, "all over; but I will die in the cause. I mean to be carried to the House of Commons to-morrow, to beg leave of the Speaker to take the oaths sitting, and then to move two resolutions." These he mentioned to the writer, but spoke so indistinctly that the writer could only perceive, generally, that they were substantially the same as the clauses which he had prefixed to the Bill which, in 1812, he brought into Parliament for the relief of the Catholics. He again pressed the writer by the hand, repeated the intention of being carried to the House, and desired the writer to attend him to it. But he died in the ensuing night.

Grattan was buried in Westminster Abbey, and among the mourning of so many friends and admirers of his heroic constancy and courage and generosity, through a life shadowed almost continuously by tragic frustration, his funeral was attended by the boys from all the Catholic schools of the London parishes.

DENIS GWYNN.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

XII

IRELAND'S DELIVERANCE IS AT HAND

Tadhg (vv. 3, 12, 14), son of Ruaidhri (vv. 3, 14), grandson of Cathal (v. 6) Ó Conchobhair can only be the Ó Conchobhair, who died in 1374. As he is not named "Ó Conchobhair," the poem must have been written before 1366, the date of his inauguration. (*F. Mast.*, 1338, 1340, 1342, 1366, 1367, 1374). The poem is anonymous.

1. [An] deimin a-nos teacht don tairrngire
neart ainbrine ód clos ar coillMhide
Gaoidil go reanfhuit mbraonach mBreagmuige
ar meanmaine ar aonach Teamhrach toinngile.

2. Uairle Gaoidheal gan fís dá roileagadh
aoinfear d'oireagar díb nior dligeadar
cur fir a Dé do b'ard an anobar
gur dogadar é i mbaig fir 'r nior ideadar.

3. Gluairir mac Ruaidhri an ruachair ioldhuadaig
fluaigfi fionn-luarraig go Cruachain gcomdálaig
forfóghra Taidg i mBreagmuig bailbéanaig
[frailméagaid] gach aird go Teamhraig dtromdámaig
ón tSionainn bheacduinn uaine eidnéanaig
teinngéadaid go reanTuinn dTuaidhe dtorrmánaig.

4. Luaige gach múir Gallda tré goirtceinid
roinnfidir dúin uaine ard a'orcorraid
cloca aoil an machaire millfidir
le cataidhe finncinid caoim Conchobair.

5. Ar fgur fagla dá folt mar doinnciarraig
le troimcliabraid banba a-nocht do neamchruadaig
fonn gach deagfhlóig i nÉirinn ilceolaig
timceollaid go reandóinn ngléidhinn ngealcuanaig.

6. Oirdeirc fíordamna Cruacan Coillghile
cloirdbile mionabla ónad uachad ainbfine
mac meic Cathail ar uthal orluirde
comluighe re cathaib Muman maighighe
cuirfid fa lurmhagh lá crannghaile
dufran a amhgaire tá an tairngire

7. Saoirfear a ndear ó Chodal cláirleabhar
dar báinghealad torad ir mear mionMhuman
dearg ór bflaithne gach call craobhroighead
tairche caomhdroighean gcam ar gciordubhad.

8. Crod re a ré mar bloid don Dórumha
ghé an órumha ar na cnoib d'ó caomMogha
bláth an torraid 'n-a thilrib nuaighealaibh
do mhilrigh fuairfreadha an chalaid chraobhrona
geamhar ó lár ag tacmuing tréinfeadha
flathchuill gléighealaibh mar dubh lán laoghfola.

9. Bláth gach cuill um iarnóin fionndualaigh
do fionnfuarraigh tuinn ngriannmóir ngailléanaigh
braon mealla ir drúchta 'n-a ndoinndeorraibh
coinneobhaidh lúbtha taobh feadha fainnféarraigh
na flatha um Dúill ó chnoibh 'n-a gcamánaibh
tré fúil mallfádhail ui Bhroin dá mbairrféagain

10. Mear ag fnighe fan mBaoill mbalichuirghil
barrthuitfid le taoibh gach bile buinnchleachtaigh
bláth gach chroinn dóibh mar dubh donnchorcair
comchorcraidh do chloinn móir Muirchertaigh.

11. Fearchain mealla re flathaibh fnuadhchaomha
do ghlacaibh nuachlaona an feadha órchuanna
luach oile fnadhma na fíochcána
malluba chíochlána tuath mhoighe mhórTuama

12. Tobar lomlán tré báidh a boscroidhe
go h-orlár corcaighe ir náir dar neirtbhile
ó Thadhg fíor gach neach dá nearthmaire
cleath breachmaighe mar bior arad ór eitrighe.

13. Lαṙṙαiḋ néall óṙ Mḭḋe maoiṫṫleannaiġ
ní ṫṙéan aṙ naoiṁṫeallaiḋ bile bṙaonĊumaiṙ
ṙa ṫuaṫaiḃ ḋo ṙaḋ 'n-a ṙéiṫleannaiġ
ġuṙ léiṙṫeangail a-niaṙ um Ċṙuaṫain ġcṙaoḃĊoillaiġ.

14. Ṫaḋġ mac Ruaiḋṙí aṙ ṙíṙḃile ṙéiṁḋe
míṅṙliġe céillḋe aṙ ṙluaiġṙí ṙíḋeine
mac Í Ċonĉoḃaiṙ ġuiṙṫ Ġáiṙḋe
ḋáiṁṙile Cuilt ṫṙoṁṫoṙaiḋ aṙ ḋtíṙeine
ní hé an Lia ṙáil aṙ ṙáiḋ ḋaṙ n-aoḋaiṙe
'ṙ ní haonḋuine é aĊt Ḋia óiṙ iṙ é aṙ bṙáiḋ ṙíṙeine.

In ḋeiṁin.

Translation

1. Is this a proof that the Prophecy is coming to pass ? After hearing of the foreign oppression on wooded Midhe, the Gaoidhil, marching to the storied swelling stream of the Breagha's plain, are our hope for another Fair on bright-surfaced Teamhair.

2. The nobles of the Gaoidhil, kingless and crushed, were not free to set up (as king) one of themselves—'twere a dread thing, O God, to attempt it—till they had chosen him after prophetic inspiration, and they got it not (?).

3. Ruaidhri's triumphant charging son, captain of fair Luarach, has marched on crowded Cruacha ; Tadhg's proclamation will empty (of troops) every height in Breagha's bird-whispering plain even to poet-burdened Teamhair ; from the green ivy-bordered Sionna he will seize all land up to the old resounding Wave of Tuaidh.

4. Ashes of every foreign castle rising in blue flame, the high green strongholds will be broken in pieces by shots ; the limestone forts of the plain will be destroyed by the battler of courteous Conchobhar's fair race.

5. At night, when fray is over, this hero, whose hair is as dark wax, has ever kindly treated Banbha's dear poet-bands ; he will go in circuit to the land of every goodly host in tuneful Éire till he comes back to the ancient, bright-whispering fair-banked Bóinn.

6. Renowned is this heir of forest-adorned Cruacha, a prominent branch of a kindly tree, banishing all foreigners, grandson of Cathal, quick to obey ; at Lusmhagh he will make a pact with the hosts of salmon-rich Mumha after a battle-day ; hard is the task of bringing the Prophecy to pass.

7. He is a hero for whom in the South from smooth-plained Codhal the fruit and mast of gentle Mumha have grown bright of colour ; owing to our prince red are the fair-branched hazels and the fruits of the pleasant sloe-trees laden down and dark-crested.

8. Cattle in his day are (as goodly) as a share of the Bórumha ; gentle Mogh's scion has brought a bronze sheen on nuts ; fruit-blossoms in bright-white clusters have sweetened the cool waters on the tree-rich shore ; corn-grass grows from the earth right up to the dense wood ; bright branching hazels are as a provision of kine-flesh.

9. The hazel-bloom close-woven at eventide has cooled the sun-steeped earth where strange birds rest; a shower of honey and dew in dark drops will cause ceaseless wavings of the branches of the scant-grassed wood; the trees about the Búill shall be bent down beneath nuts because the stately joyous eye of Bron's scion watches over them.

10. Acorns will pour down the side of every crooked-trunked tree, dropping into the Búill, whitening it with foam-flecks; the bloom of all trees as though twere a purple flower, grows purple in honour of Muircheartach's great race.

11. A further reward for (his) binding of peace shall be a rain of honey coming from the bending twigs trickling down the shapely branches of the gold-gleaming wood; and the slow-footed full-uddered kine in the districts on the plain of great Tuaim.

12. His generous heart is as a flowing well with love; but cast down as if to the bottom of a morass and shamed before our warrior, is every man, how powerful he be, lying low neath Tadhg just as a tree on a speckled field is above a trench.

13. He will send up flaming smoke-clouds over soft-glenned Midhe; this hero of moist Cumar will press light on holy churches, but he has encircled in his (bonds as) woodbine the lay-folk, and has openly bound them all in the West about Cruacha of the waving woods.

14. Tadhg son of Ruaidhri is our gracious hero for ever; our fairy captain is wise smooth guidance; the son of Ó Conchobhair of the field of Gáiridhe is the prophet-poet of Cuilt fortelling fertility for our land; it is not the Lia Fáil which prophesies our shepherd but God, for He alone is our true prophet.

Notes

MSS.: R.I.A. A iv. 3, p. 848 (A); 3 C 13, p. 674 (C).

1 *a* in AC. *Leg.* inbeimne? 2 *b* -daip AC, *d* -daip AC; an balg C. References are frequent (*e.g.*, *Irish Monthly*, Oct., 1921, p. 420, v. 11) to this "bubble of prophecy" which, as ibeadar would indicate, had to be drunk by the diviner. 3 *b* Luarach unidentified, *c* mbailb- AC, *d* failbéabaid C, failbeim- A. The text (*fut.* of fáilmigim, foilmigim) is conjectural. *e* ó S. C; mbr. AC; uaine A, fuair C; eigéanaig C, eignéanaig A, *f* tuaid C. 4*d* cabaigte AC; cc. cc. A. 5 *a* ciarac a collective noun. Or -aig, "dark-brown ox"? *c* milc. AC, *d* timceolaig AC. 6 *a* miog. AC, *b* u. o'a. C, *d* comluide AC, *e* leicfi fa A, *f* acá AC. 7 *a* ó cal- A, *d* com AC. 8 *c* an not in A; tellfib AC, *d* millfig AC. *f* lán = lón? A has *e*, *d*, *c*, *f*, *a*, *b*. 9*c* braoin AC; ir not in A; or. tré duinn- C, *f* mallal- A; Bron, ancestor of Ó Conchobhair. 10 *b* -daid AC, *c* barr gac A; mar an o. C. Corca(i)r, some kind of red flower; it might here mean "purple robe," *d* comforcraig C; Muircheartach, ancestor of Ó Conchobhair. 11 *a* -caola A, *b* a ngl. nuadcaoma A. 12 *a* gan báig C, *b* gan o. C; nár A. 13*a* Cumar, cf. *Onom.*, *c* c. a fian do f. C, iadaim fa, "I close round," is common; *d* do léir- C; go cr. A. 14 *a* raoir- C, *b* maoin- C; fl. ar fiad-e A, *c* gairide unidentified, *d* daimbile C. Reference unknown, *e* hí C; naduine A, *f* é not in C; dia adhain oir A.

J. B. BURY: HELLENIST AND HISTORIAN [1]

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY

THE name of John Bagnell Bury, Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge University from 1902 till his death in 1927, is widely familiar to classical and historical students as that of a brilliant Irishman and one of the most learned scholars of his time. Born in County Monaghan and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, he was the pupil of Tyrrell and Mahaffy in their heyday, and won for himself fame hardly if at all inferior to the legendary renown of his masters. Always looking younger than his years, he was precocious from the first. At the age of ten he impressed Tyrrell by his knowledge of Greek grammar. Before he was twenty he collaborated with Mahaffy in editing the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. Not yet quite twenty-eight, he startled the learned world by the thoroughness and authority of his *History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene.* He produced a remarkable edition of Pindar, valuable standard Histories of Greece and of the early Roman Empire, and an unrivalled commentary on Gibbon's *Decline and Fall.* It was especially in the wide and difficult field of Gibbon's work that Bury laboured most enduringly. Even before his appointment to succeed Lord Acton at Cambridge he was universally regarded as a foremost authority in Byzantine studies. His later work, more particularly on the constitution and administrative system of the Eastern Roman Empire, was of fundamental importance, and it is probable that it will be remembered longest of all that he did. Following Acton's model, he planned the *Cambridge Mediaeval History,* and was principal editor of the *Cambridge Ancient History,* to which even

[1] *A Bibliography of the Works of J. B. Bury.* Compiled, with a Memoir, by Norman H. Baynes. Cambridge University Press. 1929. 10/6 net.

in failing health he contributed some of its most brilliant and interesting chapters.

Although utterly dissimilar to his famous predecessor in almost everything else, he resembled him in the range of his learning, which in some ways surpassed even Acton's own. Not only was he in the front rank of classical scholars, with more than the ordinary classical scholar's mastery of French, German and Italian. He had also a good knowledge of Russian and Hungarian, both of which he learned in order to equip himself for his Byzantine studies. Besides having an unusually close acquaintance with a wide range of documents in his own special subjects, he was widely read in philosophical and scientific literature. His thoroughness was equal to his width of interest. He entered the domain of Irish history with his *Life of St. Patrick*, and in spite of his ignorance of Irish the book marked a very great advance on previous work. Elected professor of Modern History in Trinity College, Dublin, in 1893, he was made also Regius Professor of Greek in 1898, and held both offices together till his transference to Cambridge. His Inaugural Lecture in that University was an extraordinary success. So great was the crush of listeners that the representative of the *Cambridge Review* could not get in; and the preponderance of young women in the audience led that journal to remark that it "could not contemplate with equanimity the time when a shed for perambulators would form a necessary part of every lecture room." Bury, however, was not destined to carry on permanently the magnetic tradition of Acton as lecturer. His tastes lay rather in the direction of research, to which he devoted most of his energies. Oscar Browning described him as "the good boy who won't allow anything to take him from his lessons." This concentration revenged itself upon his health, and from 1910 onwards he was forced to withdraw more and more into his own workshop, where he laboured with courageous perseverance to the last.

Mr. Baynes's Memoir and Bibliography enable us not only to estimate Bury's great and lasting contributions to knowledge, but also his position as a historian and his general philosophy of history. It is clear that his chief distinction lay in special fields, in establishing the character and quality of the sources for particular periods and events, and in the acute analysis of documents. He had little interest in personality or in broader political issues, while excelling in the study of institutions as such. Unlike his remarkable predecessor, he had small experience of public affairs; he was the type of the cloistered researcher, and his impartiality was rather the fruit of an exclusively intellectual interest in his analytical work than of any exercise of historical judgment in the political or ethical sense. Although eminently sensitive to ideas such as that of Progress or Freedom of Thought, he had none of Lord Acton's passion for freedom in the broader meaning of the word, nor of his determination to "suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong." His absorption in details, in clearly-bounded departmental problems which admitted of semi-mathematical solutions, made him attach a minor degree of value to the virtue of consistency; he boldly proclaimed that he would not consider himself to be doing his duty unless he changed his views every two years. Now it makes all the difference in the world whether a historian changes his views on the interpretation of evidence in detail, or allows his judgment to fluctuate on large issues or on the very function of history. Unfortunately it was in wider matters of judgment and principle that Bury most lived up to his conception of his duty.

Karl Julius Beloch, whose recent death has removed an historian no less renowned than Bury himself, draws, in the Preface to his "History of Greece," a distinction between the *Historiker* and the *Philologe*, which gives him the opportunity to register some sharp and rather

amusing criticisms of his forerunners and compeers. "The philologue believes what stands in his sources until it is proved false; the historian only believes it when it is proved true." This is really a distinction between the man of letters and the historical researcher. The former is interested in literature, the latter in truth. The historian looks on his documents as sources of knowledge, the man of letters looks on them as sources of aesthetic enjoyment. Bury himself had made much the same distinction in 1892, from a slightly different standpoint, in reply to Jowett's protest against "patching the good cloth of Herodotus or Thucydides or Xenophon with the transparent gauze of Diodorus and Plutarch." Jowett's valuation of his sources was dictated by aesthetic and stylistic prejudices, which, as Bury rightly pointed out, should have no influence on the seeker for truth. The distinction thus made by Beloch, however, does not go to the root of the matter. There is an historical philologue as well as a literary philologue; an historian who does not indeed suffer from aesthetic prejudices, but whose training and pre-occupation is none the less with *criteria* of a literary order. Such a historian, of a very eminent and fruitful kind, was Bury, notwithstanding his insistence on the title of History to take rank, not as a branch of literature or philosophy, but as a Science in her own right.

Indeed this very emphasis on the scientific aspect of History was one of the causes that determined his own relative limitations as a historian. It is precisely when most severely confined to the analysis and comparison of documents and the establishment of a chain of evidence that the work of the historian is most "scientific" in the sense that his results are most capable of being clearly demonstrated; whereas it is in the exercise of judgment upon the results themselves that he must needs depart from "science" and become a literary artist, a philosopher, or both at once. Bury's fellow-Byzantinist,

August Heisenberg, has most definitely given expression to this criticism of him. "Even as historian," he says, "Bury remained always the philologue. . . . He admired the greatness of the Empire, but otherwise the culture of Byzantium left him cold. Byzantium was for him first and foremost an object of learned research." It is rarely possible for the same man to be at the same time in the front rank as literary critic of historical sources and as judge of historical cause and effect. Bury was a very clear and interesting, often even picturesque, writer; but perhaps it is only in his *Life of St. Patrick*, where he relegates the laboratory-work to the appendices, and concentrates in the body of the book on the literary formulation of his results, that he comes near success in effecting the complete synthesis. It is no disparagement of a great scholar to say that he does not succeed so fully in his other works. In some of them, of course, he was merely restating the results of others; but in his own special field of research the "philologue" often has his way with the historian. His great *History of the Later Roman Empire*, which appeared in 1923, is best described as an admirable collection of detached monographs. Its second volume justifies its claim to be the most complete account of the reign of Justinian ever published; but the great Imperial dreamer is buried under the details of his wars. In dealing with the causes for the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West, Bury shows at once the carelessness for consistency and the "philological" quality which marked his historiography. In earlier life he had explained the collapse by a somewhat bold theory of intellectual decline, which he illustrated by instancing the failure of the Romans to establish a Ministry of Commerce or a Board of Trade. In the "History" he abandons all attempt at generalisation and takes refuge in the statement that the Western Empire's fall was due to "a series of contingent events." This, as Mr. Baynes does

not fail to point out, is the abdication of History. "The simple annalist is master of the situation."

That it was, even as a full-fledged theory, no momentary aberration on Bury's part, is proved by his essay entitled "Cleopatra's Nose" in the Annual of the Rationalist Press Association for 1916. There it already appears formally stated, and applied to such historical questions as the causes for the Peloponnesian War and the rise of Christianity, although it is in fact a theory which makes short work of all attempts at causation. Its genesis is partly to be traced to the specialist's difficulty in seeing the wood for the trees; but its appearance in a periodical devoted to the cause of "Rationalism" is a proof that its source is to be found in the development of Bury's most fundamental thought. All through life, from his student's paper on Browning's philosophy, he had been what is best described as a Hellenist in religious conviction, and his Hellenism went hand in hand with a deep-seated anti-Christian bias. This religion appears most clearly in his editions of Pindar of 1890 and 1892, and in a paper with the significant title "*Anima Naturaliter Pagana:* A Quest of the Imagination," published in 1891. In spite of having edited the *Hippolytus*, which gives expression, as perhaps no other book does, to a particular kind of pessimism inseparable from Greek paganism, Bury found in Pindar, and generalised for all Greeks, a quality of brightness and calm akin to the "Freude" of which Schiller vainly dreamed in "Die Götter Griechenlands." Though Bury himself disliked Romanticism and criticised Swinburne for having imported it into ancient Greece, there is no doubt that this emphasis on Greek brightness and joy is a modern Romantic fallacy.

The art of Pindar, said Bury in his interesting introduction to his edition of the *Nemean Odes*, was flawless because it mirrored these essential Greek qualities in an untroubled state. Into the calm Greek atmosphere

Christianity brought an element of trouble, a *déchirement*, a rending of the soul. From this element of trouble the *anima naturaliter pagana* will seek to escape, in order "to make a road to a region where the clipped wings of the most ardent Hellenist cannot bear him now." In a paper on compulsory Greek of the same period, Bury asserted that the precise reason for compulsion is because the study is strictly useless; and by this he meant, not that it should not subserve economic ends, but that study in general, and Greek study in particular, should be its own absolute end. This of course was a tenet not by any means peculiar to him; it was in fact common form in the English Universities of his generation. In his mouth, however, it was the expression of a kind of religion which did duty for and was hostile to all other religions. When he maintained that "the Greeks themselves . . . . were always seeking knowledge for its own sake without any regard for results," he was again generalising overmuch. The statement is true perhaps of the Ionians and of the old age of Aristotle, an Ionian himself; it was not true of those rather important Greeks the Athenians, least of all of Socrates and Plato.

From 1914 onwards Bury became a regular contributor to the Rationalist Press Annual. His Rationalism was only the logical development of his peculiar type of Hellenism; and his Theory of Contingency was one expression of both, a sort of generalisation of the Greek *Tyche*, Fortune or Chance, which so dominates much Greek poetry and history-writing. As a kind of manifesto of his adhesion to the Rationalist camp, he published in 1913 a little book which caused much stir at the time, his "History of Freedom of Thought." Written under the stress of illness and with the conviction that he had only a little time in which to deliver his message, this book fits completely into the framework of his earlier ideas. It begins with a description of the liberty enjoyed in that ideal Greek world to which his aspirations always

turned. This liberty was precarious because not consciously expressed and held as a principle. It required the experience of persecution, an invention of Christianity, to implant the principle firmly in men's minds. Full freedom of thought and discussion is now an essential element in civilisation. It is a human right, based on utility; but this does not justify governments in curtailing it on grounds of utility. The book was severely criticised by Mr. Hilaire Belloc among others for its many undeniable errors of fact. Mr. Belloc accused Bury of having, in his hostile judgement of mediaeval Christianity, "told the story of a great love from the standpoint of a heart decayed." It might more fairly perhaps be said that the book was the work of a great specialist telling in a hurry a story not his own, an effort of the *anima naturaliter pagana* to find its way back by an unfamiliar road to an ideal Ionian past. Bury himself rather deprived of seriousness his theory that freedom of discussion is an inalienable human right when in 1919, under strain of war, he declared that "every social principle is subject to the general rule that it must not endanger its own existence." The natural freedom of the Greeks was Convention, not Law, after all.

Bury's religious convictions manifested themselves often strangely enough in his historical judgments; the Theory of Contingency is a case in point. A less important but almost equally striking example is to be found in his "History of Greece." Most students are probably rather surprised to find, in chapter vii of that very able and useful summary, that the mystical religious movements typified by Orphism and Pythagoreanism are set side by side with the great Persian invasions as one of the "Perils of Greece" from which she only escaped providentially by the victory of Ionian reason and the Crotonian massacres. The truth of course is that if these things were a peril, Greece did not escape from them at all. They became a most important and

essential element in Hellenic life and thought, especially through the transformation of them at the hands of Socrates, whom Bury, curiously enough, was later to hold up to Rationalists as a kind of protomartyr for their own cause. Here again his Ionian prejudices joined with his romantic religion of Hellenism to mould his teaching in a very characteristic way.

Perhaps the strangest thing about the brilliant historian was, however, that his Hellenic rationalism was by no means his exclusive religion, although a most important and influential part of it to the end. It shared his mind, in later life at least, with a doctrine whose essential incompatibility with it he seems never fully to have realised: the doctrine of Progress. In 1922, a year before finally formulating his Contingency Theory, he published in "The Idea of Progress" his considered views on this subject. It was no new doctrine with him for all that. The first hint of his interest in it appears in 1894, and he recurs to it in two of his most important utterances on his own work, the Inaugural Lecture of 1903 and the Harvard Lectures on "The Ancient Greek Historians" in 1908. As Mr. Baynes points out, the book of 1922 "was the natural outcome of ideas which had long formed a vital part of his thought." On various occasions he uses the idea that "humanity is advancing in a definite and desirable direction, and that a condition of general happiness will ultimately be enjoyed" as the philosophical justification for the study of history. "We must see our petty periods," he says in his Inaugural Lecture, "*sub specie perennitatis.*" In the Harvard Lectures he shows that "the absence of the idea of indefinite progress in Greek and Roman speculation is one of the gulfs which separate us from the ancients . . . With the Greeks, who applied the inadequate idea of *Tyche* or Fortune, the reconstruction of the past was an instinct which they justified by reasons which were superficial."

In "The Idea of Progress" we may perhaps glimpse

most clearly the curious unconscious conflict between the Hellenic Rationalist with his Theory of Contingency and the modern optimist believer in Progress. "The Idea of Progress belongs to the same order of ideas as Providence or personal immortality. Belief in it is an act of faith." It is the substitute, on a higher plane of civilisation, for these outworn ideas of Fortune and Providence. The thought occurs to him—an intrusion of the ever-wakeful Rationalist—that Progress itself may in time dispense with its Idea, just as the Greek *Tyche* and the mediaeval Providence have been dispensed with. But he dismisses this thought as "theoretical scepticism." "The Idea of Progress," says Mr. Baynes, "was Bury's working faith." As Mr. Christopher Dawson has recently shown, it is an eighteenth-century derivative of Christianity; in fact it is Providence with the Deity—and therewith intelligibility—abstracted out of it, and that is precisely why it was unknown to the Greeks. It was the great scholar's working faith only because he failed to realise its essential conflict with that other older faith which he seems to have held with conviction to the end. Bury the Hellenist, moved by his Ionian nostalgia, and Bury the Historian, "spectator of all time and all existence," never arrived at more than an uneasy accommodation. He was one of those very fruithful teachers who leave generations in their debt, and few of those who follow in his footsteps would care to have subtracted from their store of knowledge what they owe to his industry and skill. It can hardly be said so confidently that the Philosophy of History has been either permanently or considerably enriched by his Jekyll and Hyde contribution to her of anti-religious rationalism and faith in an irrational Religion of Progress.

MICHAEL TIERNEY.

THE CRISIS IN AUSTRIA AND MONSIGNOR SEIPEL

BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J., M.A.

AUSTRIA to-day is a federal republic comprising nine separate states or "countries" (Länder) and consisting of a total area of 32,000 square miles and a population of 6,500,000 people, Catholic in religion and German in race and speech. The origin of this new federated Austria is to be found in an imperial decree issued on October 16, 1918, by the last of the long line of Habsburg rulers in Austria, Emperor Karl. The intention of the Emperor was to transform the then centralised Austrian Empire into a federation of more or less autonomous states. His decree called upon the members of the Reichsrat to form themselves into "national councils" and to proceed to draw up a constitution on federal lines for a "Greater Austria". The "felicitas," the famous luck of the Habsburgs, which had for centuries attended their every effort to build up a great empire, deserted them in this crisis. The "national councils" of the non-German parts of the Empire, encouraged and assisted by the victorious Allied Powers, declared in an historic meeting of the Reichsrat that the offer of national independence within a federal state had come too late. They then joined or took charge of the revolutionary movements already existing in their respective countries; Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Croats, Slovenes and Magyars severed definitely all connection with Vienna and German Austria. The last meeting of the Reichsrat took place on 26 October, 1918, being adjourned to the 29th; but when the 29th came, only the "national council" of German Austria was there, and it met as a Provisional National Assembly in the Lower Austrian House of Parliament. Then came a fortnight of con-

fusion and anxiety, during which the Emperor Karl and his wife behaved with conspicuous bravery, driving in from Schönbrunn to hold audiences and consultations in the Hofburg in the centre of a tumultuous Vienna. But the Emperor saw that his best service to his country at the moment would be to release the officials from their oath of fidelity to him and to allow the Provisional Assembly to take charge. On the 12th November the Communists organised—or perhaps "staged" would be more accurate—a little revolt, in which the tearing down of the new red-white-red flag of the Republic and the firing on the Parliament were the chief incidents. The strains of "Wallensteins Lager," played by the "People's Army" in the Parliament House itself, the occasional rattle of a machine-gun, cat-calling and whistling greeted the birth of the new Republic on that day, which has given its name to one of the most beautiful of Vienna's boulevards.

It was perhaps natural that, in the fateful months and years which followed, the conservative elements in Austria, including the Catholics as a body both in and out of Parliament, should have been far and away too timid in their dealings with the Socialists. Revolution was in the air, and no one knew exactly what hold it had on the Austrian people as a whole: it was more prudent to be as conciliatory as possible. Moreover, the Socialists felt that the turn of events was a victory for them, and their speeches and newspapers imposed on their opponents and made these feel that they were weaker than they were in reality, that they were lucky in not having a Russian "red terror" let loose on them, and that it was better not to provoke or irritate the Socialists by too vigorous an opposition. Add to this the comparative ignorance and inexperience of democratic representative government common to both parties alike, and the understanding of what followed is made easier.

The war was formally brought to a close for Austria

by the iniquitous treaty of St. Germain signed in September, 1919, by a peace delegation headed by a Socialist, Dr. Karl Renner. The elections for a Constituent Assembly went decidedly in favour of the Socialists, who at least could claim that they had no responsibility for the war, its disastrous end, and its terrible consequences of famine, disease and economic ruin. Dr. Karl Seitz, the now famous "red" Burgomeister of Vienna, was both President of the Republic and Speaker of the Parliament. His colleague, Dr. Renner, was Chancellor. During that year of frightful suffering and misfortune, 1919-1920, a new Constitution was drawn up—the Constitution which is to-day the burning question in Austria and which has been the cause of most of the troubles of the last ten years. It was finally passed on October 1, 1920, and in December Dr. Michael Hainisch was elected first Federal President of the Republic, a position which he held till December, 1928.

The Constitution of Austria, for which (it is said) Professor Dr. Hans Kelsen, of Vienna University, was mainly responsible, is a masterpiece of academic ingenuity. It embodies all the most modern ideas and safeguards, provides seemingly for every eventuality; but it has, at the same time, been the cause of the stagnation of all government for the last eight or nine years, and has now brought Austria to the verge of civil war. At the head of the State the Constitution places a Federal President who is literally devoid of all authority. He cannot summon nor dissolve Parliament; he cannot invite a citizen to form a Government; he cannot dismiss a Minister or a Government; he has no part whatever in the ordinary legislative or executive work of the country. Moreover, he is not directly elected by the people, but by the two Houses of Parliament, and once elected he vanishes from the political life of the State, devoting his attention to ceremonial receptions and such like matters.

Of the two Houses of Parliament, the Bundesrat, a body of fifty Senators elected by the various State or "land" parliaments, has little or nothing to do in the matter of legislation or administration, though it may say as much as it likes. It has a veto on most classes of legislation, but this veto operates only until the Lower House (Nationalrat) passes the vetoed Bill a second time. The Nationalrat itself is elected every four years by a system of proportional representation and "lists," and can only be dissolved by a special law passed by itself. Before a general election each party draws up a list of candidates in a certain definite order, the electors vote for the Social Democrat "list" or the Christian Socialist "list" as a whole, and each party secures the election of that number of candidates to which the total vote for its "list" entitles it. The candidates must be elected in the order in which they are on the list: thus, if the total vote for a party entitles it to twenty seats, then these seats go to the first twenty candidates on the "list". Consequently, all power is in the hands of the parties, and deliberately so; the personal factor is eliminated as much as possible. The Nationalrat elects the Chancellor and each member of his Cabinet; and it can dismiss the Chancellor or any individual Minister, when it wishes. If there are more than two parties and no single party has an absolute majority, it is easy to see how little real power or authority a Chancellor or a Cabinet has. That is really one of the most important points in this whole matter: the lack of any real authority in the State. It is Parliamentarianism run mad.

The relation of the States or "Lands" to the central Federal Government is another serious problem—especially the privileged position which Vienna holds; for Vienna is at once the federal capital, a semi-independent state, and a municipality with all kinds of privileges. It has been calculated that two-thirds of all the federal taxes collected in Vienna go, not to the federal, but to the

municipal treasury. The importance of this matter of taxation can hardly be exaggerated. As very many, if not most, of the great industrial concerns in Austria and practically all the banks have their head offices in Vienna, it is there that by far the greater portion of the federal taxes of the country are collected. The municipality of Vienna, however, having a constitutional right to a certain share of the federal taxes collected within its territory, is the body that benefits, not the federal treasury. The consequence is that Vienna grows wealthy at the expense of the other parts of Austria and gives back practically nothing in exchange.

The Constitution, intentionally, does not favour the influence of personality in the political life of the country : parties, not persons, were thought the proper organs of democratic government. It is all the more remarkable, then, that the history of Austria during the last ten years has been to a great extent woven round the name of one man, Monsignor Ignatius Seipel. This Catholic priest, long a University Professor, has won for himself a place among the statesmen of Europe out of all proportion to the importance of the country he has ruled. He dwarfs the most prominent statesmen of the " Succession States " ; and even in England, France or Italy there are few who are his equals in statecraft. An account of the last few years of Austrian history must begin with him.

Monsignor Ignatius Seipel was born in Meidling, one of the suburbs of Vienna, on 19 July, 1876. He was the son of middle-class parents, and grew up among the people of a more or less industrial quarter of the city, two facts which must have considerably helped him when called upon to rule an Austria of middle-class and working people. He was educated at the Meidling Gymnasium and at the University of Vienna. In 1899 he was ordained priest, and spent some time as curate in a country district, where he had the opportunity of becoming acquainted

with agricultural conditions in Austria—with the needs and difficulties and hopes of the small farmers and peasants. Recalled to Vienna, he made use of his spare time by continuing his theological studies and taking out his doctor's degree in 1903. In 1908 he became privatdozent or lecturer at Vienna, writing a dissertation on the economico-ethical teachings of the Fathers as his "habilitation thesis". In the following year he was appointed professor of Moral Theology at Salzburg, and for a year edited one of the biggest of the Austrian ecclesiastical newspapers. In 1917 he was called to Vienna to take the chair of Moral Theology there. He published during the same year his "Thoughts on the Reform of the Austrian Constitution"—a subject which the death of Franz Joseph and the accession of Emperor Karl had made very actual. In the previous year he had published a book much discussed at the time, *Nation and State*, developing his idea of Austria's destiny in the European state system. In October, 1918, Emperor Karl made Dr. Seipel a member of the last imperial Cabinet, but by the end of that October the Empire was no more.

For the next three or four years Dr. Seipel, though actively helping as far as he could in the saving of Austria, was nevertheless not particularly prominent in public life. In 1920 he was elected member of the Nationalrat. The chief political difficulty at this period was the fear felt by the "lands" (*i.e.*, Tirol, Salzburg, etc.) lest a constitution should be passed that would centralise all power in Vienna and thus give the Social Democrats a free hand. Dr. Mayer, Chancellor and Innsbruck representative, with the support of Dr. Seipel, secured that the "lands" should be kept independent of Vienna, but only at the cost of allowing Vienna also a measure of freedom and independence which has given the Socialists their opportunity to become virtually an *imperium in imperio*—a most disturbing element in the body politic of Austria.

But political or constitutional questions at that time, 1919-1922, when Austria was facing famine, bankruptcy and economic ruin, were necessarily matters of comparative insignificance. The sudden breaking-up of such an economic unit as the Austrian Empire into six or seven parts could not but produce a complete disorganisation of the whole industrial and economic life; and it was, for various reasons, the remnant of the Empire now known as Austria that was most seriously affected. The foreign trade of the country almost came to a stop owing to the hostile tariff walls that sprang up around it: the peasants might support themselves with difficulty, but the big industrial centres and the big towns had lost not only their markets, but also their sources of fuel and raw material. The currency fell rapidly, till in 1922 the krone was 14,400 below par; and all this time there was the army to be demobilised, pensions and war debts to be paid, the arrears of four years wear and tear to be made good, the terrible effects of the blockade to be cured or mitigated. The non-Socialists had a small majority in the Nationalrat, and a government of members of the Christian Social party and the chief officials of the Civil Service was in power, under the Chancellorship of the Chief Commissioner of Police, Herr Schober, and supported by the Grossdeutsche party. The Social Democrats, under Dr. Otto Bauer and Dr. Karl Renner, had no wish to see Austria drift into political and economic chaos. Recognising Dr. Seipel as the ablest of their opponents, they kept calling for him to come forward and take control. They may have hoped that a failure on his part would completely discredit the non-Socialist parties in the eyes of the country and the world, and that their chance would then come. Dr. Seipel himself seemed, in one of his speeches, to be of the opinion that this was the Social Democrats' object in calling for him to take over the government: making him lead a forlorn hope. The refusal of the Grossdeutsche party to support

Herr Schober in his very wise policy of friendliness towards Hungary and Czechoslovakia caused the fall of the Cabinet in May, 1922, and Dr. Seipel was elected Chancellor on the 28th of that month.

In four months, to the astonishment of the Social Democrats, of his own followers, and indeed of the whole world, Dr. Seipel had saved Austria. A series of journeys to the various capitals of Europe, a couple of months of strenuous negotiations culminating in a remarkable speech at Geneva in September, led up to the signing on October 4 of the Geneva Protocol. The Social Democrats tried to defeat the too successful Chancellor by proposing a vote of no confidence on the ground that the Geneva agreement endangered the independence of the Republic. But Dr. Seipel received the thanks of the majority of the Nationalrat, and proceeded to put his plans for reconstruction into execution. Even before the foreign loans secured from the League of Nations could be floated the Austrian krone stabilised itself at 14,400, and has remained steady (under its new form as one schilling equals 10,000 krone, with 34·5 schillings to the £) ever since. This meant that confidence had returned to the country, and that credit could be called in to help industry and trade. There is no need to go into the technical and financial details of the Austrian Reconstruction Scheme. It rested on an international loan to Austria through the League of Nations with a certain control of Austrian finances by representatives of the League for a period of years; and the creation of a National Bank of Austria. One thing is worth noting—it was Mgr. Seipel who taught Europe how to save itself after the war, and it was he who had the courage to put his own teaching into practice first. Germany, Hungary, Greece, Bulgaria and Poland rescued themselves months after Austria by sedulously apeing the policy of Mgr. Seipel. The Austrian currency was one of the first to be stabilised in Europe—long before those of Germany, France and

Italy. In 1923 the krone had already acquired the title of the "Alpine dollar," and in 1925 Austria got back to the gold standard (and manageable figures) by introducing a new currency.

The actual Reconstruction Loan was issued in London in 1923, a 6 per cent. loan issued at 80. The proceeds amounted to £26,700,000, and were used to pay off the floating debts contracted after the war, some £11,500,000; to put such productive and essential services as the railways, the post-office, etc., on a reconstructed basis, £11,000,000; to meet the budget deficit for 1923, and to repay portion of the National Debt to the new Bank of Austria. In three years or less, by June 1926, the financial condition of Austria was such that the control of the League of Nations could come to an end. By the end of 1928 the Government had paid back £5,100,000 of the Reconstruction Loan, had reduced the internal National Debt by £4,300,000 and had funded on favourable terms the 1918-22 Relief Credits of £24,500,000 as well as a debt of nearly £5,000,000 to the United States. Moreover, the Budget, at least as regards current normal revenue and expenditure, has been balanced every year since 1924 with a substantial surplus: there has, of course, been a *de facto* deficit on account of the large capital expenditure necessary for reconstruction, which deficit has been met out of the Reconstruction Loan. The budget estimates for 1929—Revenue £33,200,000, Expenditure £32,000,000—provided for a surplus of £1,200,000, but anticipated capital expenditure of £6,300,000. As the whole of the first Reconstruction Loan has been used up, a new Development Loan has been negotiated with the approval of the Guarantor States. It is expected to amount to £21,000,000, and will probably be floated soon under much more favourable terms than the former one. Naturally anything like serious political unrest in Austria would make the floating of this loan impossible.

The settlement of the financial problems of Austria, the stabilising of the currency, and the reconstruction of the essential services of the national economic life was a gigantic work, but it should have been only the beginning of Mgr. Seipel's service to Austria. The man who had proved himself capable of dealing with the 1922 situation would have been capable also of taking the measures necessary to enable the country gradually to adapt its economic life to the new conditions imposed on it by the peace treaties. The sudden change overnight from a more or less absolute monarchy to a democratic republic created many grave problems. That most of these problems have not been already solved is the fault of the Social Democrats. It is beyond all doubt that they have stood in the way of the recovery of the country they are supposed to be serving. The success of Mgr. Seipel and the Christian Social Party in the reconstruction work had enormously increased the prestige of the conservative element in the country, both in the eyes of the Austrian people and in those of European statesmen. It is true, indeed, that the high prices (inevitable consequence of stabilisation), the longer hours of work, the reduction of staffs and other administrative reforms caused many of the middle class and workers to become, for the moment at least, Mgr. Seipel's opponents. But the leaders of the Social Democrats saw quite clearly that his success, especially if repeated in the course of the next few years by good government and administration of the normal type, would destroy any hope that Socialism had of getting control of Austria. Their most favourable opportunity had been in the years 1919-1922, and for various reasons they had failed to establish Socialism firmly during those years, though they had certainly achieved a great deal by securing the passage of a Constitution that gave them what promised to be a permanent hold on Vienna as a semi-independent state, and that guaranteed them rights

and privileges which, if skilfully used, might enable them to extend their power over the whole of Austria. Another chance—and an even better one—would have come, had Mgr. Seipel failed in 1922: starvation, bankruptcy and riots would have followed, and the "dictatorship of the proletariat," upheld by a "red army," might easily have emerged and endured for some years. But as it was, Mgr. Seipel's complete success must have—or at least should have—shown them that, in hoping to bring Austria to accept Social Democracy, they were hoping for what was now an impossibility. Had the one real statesman of the Social Democrats, Dr. Victor Adler, been alive, it is probable that a reasonable parliamentary opposition and ordinary constitutional agitation outside parliament would have been the programme adopted. But Adler was dead, leaving as one of his last greetings to the new order the declaration that it had come a hundred years too soon. The leaders of the Social Democrats, able politicians and administrators, but no statesmen, entered upon a policy that could only prove fatal to themselves.

Under the Constitution the only real authority in the country as a federation is the Nationalrat, the Dáil of Austria. A minority government is a practical impossibility: the Chancellor and his Cabinet must have the support of more than half the members of the Nationalrat. Since May, 1922, some form of coalition has always been necessary, as the seats have been divided between four parties—the Christian Socialists holding 73, the Social Democrats 71, the Grossdeutsche 12, and the Agrarians 9*. The Social Democrats deliberately set themselves the task of making all parliamentary business impossible; and, speaking broadly, their efforts have been crowned with success. Astounding as it may seem to Irish readers, for the last six or seven years the Social Democrats have by the familiar methods of obstruction—interminable

* Figures are of 1927 election, but the parties remain relatively the same as before the election.

speeches, shouting down of opponents, organised delay of all measures in the various committees—blocked every piece of legislation they seriously disliked and much that must have been indifferent to them. Any laws they did allow through had, in most cases, to be literally paid for by concessions in other directions. When we remember how an Irish Party of 80 members was able to upset a House of Commons of something like 600, it becomes easier to understand the power which 71 determined obstructionists can wield in an assembly of 165. The Standing Orders under which this obstruction was possible would, in any other country, have been very rapidly adjusted to put an end to it. But Austria is a little inexperienced in parliamentary methods—and, moreover, a change in the Standing Orders of the Nationalrat requires a two-thirds majority, which the anti-Socialist parties never had. To use means technically unconstitutional to defeat the Social Democrats was naturally impossible for parties who expressly represented the constitutional idea against the supporters of the world-revolution; it would have been to establish a precedent and give an example that the Social Democrats would not have been slow to follow.

It would be tedious to follow in detail the history of this "parliamentary-terror of the Austro-Marxists," as it has come to be known in Austria. On three questions especially the attention of the country became focused: the reform of the Constitution, the amendment of the Rent Restrictions Act, and the measures necessary to save the Austrian agricultural industry from ruin. How the political struggle over these questions led to the resignation of Mgr. Seipel last April and to the creation (September 25) of a virtual dictatorship in the persons of Herr Schober and Herr Vaugoin must be reserved for a further article.

E. J. Coyne.

BOLIVAR AND HIS IRISH LEGIONARIES

BY W. J. WILLIAMS, M.A.

Bolivar. By M. B. Vaucaire. Translated by Margaret Baines Reed. (Constable. 1928. 7s. 6d. net).

Foreign Legionaries in the Liberation of Spanish South America. By Alfred Hasbrouck. (Columbia University Press and P. S. King. 1928. 27s.).

THE opening years of the nineteenth century witnessed in South America a series of bloody conflicts, fought throughout practically the whole area of that vast region, and marked by every horror that war reserves for his votaries. The result was the emancipation from Spanish rule of the inhabitants of the great colonial empire won for Spain by the efforts of the conquistadors and their successors in the three centuries following the great discovery of Columbus. These wars—*plus quam civilia*—were waged with all the ferocity that is the distinctive note of civil wars in all times and places, and intensified here by circumstances that had their root in a complexity of causes hard to disentangle. On both sides were several figures worthy of commanding more than ordinary interest, whether regarded from the military or the political angle.

Of these figures the most famous, both in his own lifetime and since, was Simon Bolivar whose work in the emancipation war has won for him the cognomen of "The Liberator." His many biographers have chosen to present him to their readers somewhat after the pattern of the heroic personages of ancient legend. The portrait strikes the reader as unconvincing. This is particularly true of M. Vaucaire's *Bolivar*. Perhaps the lack of verisimilitude is due to the style in which the writer has chosen to offer his work—a series of partly unconnected

chapters, presenting the hero in various poses, in the manner which it is a journalistic fashion to term "dramatic." To many people the ordinary "undramatic" method is preferable in literary portraiture—it does not give the impression of a film scenario.

Bolivar, making all necessary discount from the excessive eulogies lavished on him, may justly be considered worthy of attention both as a soldier and as a politician. As a soldier he may challenge comparison with all but the very greatest masters in the field of arms. The armies that he led were insignificant both in number and equipment compared with those that figured on the other battlefields of his age, but it is doubtful if on any of these there was needed a higher degree of generalship than that displayed by Bolivar. There were by his side many leaders of very considerable military capacity—one may mention Páez and Sucre as examples—but when all allowance is made for their services to the cause of the revolutionary states, it must be admitted that the chief factor in their success was Bolivar. Justly did he win his cognomen, for to him more than to any other individual patriot was due the courage never to submit or yield that resulted in final victory.

In the field of politics Bolivar played a meritorious part, though his fame as a statesman was eclipsed by his glory as a soldier. It is true that his ideas as to government were not realised in any enduring political system. He had lived in the impressionable years of early manhood in France and in England, and he could not but be influenced by his environment and the spirit of his age. He was no republican: though a revolutionist against despotic monarchy, he cannot be said to have had much sympathy with democratic principles—certainly not with those which the idealogues and doctrinaires advocated when the reverberations of the French Revolution were shaking the political order of the world. He was rather an oligarch who saw in obedience to settled law the sole

condition of true liberty. That the "law" might possibly interfere with the "rights of man" did not weigh with him at all—hence an apparent conflict between the principles he was supposed to have adopted in taking up arms against the established government of colonial Spain, and those that when invested with power he sought to put into practice and embody in his system of government. It is true that pure democratic institutions could not easily take root in the Latin America of the early post-revolutionary period. The previous systems of government had made it impossible that this could be effected, and the rather troubled political history of the various states that had won their freedom shows how unprepared were they for government on democratic principles. In fact it may be said that their history presents a complete contradiction between theory and practice, between the nominal governmental system as embodied in their democratically worded constitutions and the actual system as carried out in a succession of open or veiled dictatorships.

Bolivar in fact was of the political temperament of which dictators are made. He would have rejoiced in the contempt that is widely felt by governors of to-day for democratic ideas, even though they do not always avow this contempt with the candour of a Mussolini. To him it seemed that the stable and efficient government he desired could only be secured by a dictatorship—but his ideal failed to establish itself, and he died disappointed of his hopes.

In the politics of his own day his conceptions failed to be realised, but it may be that his vision of the future of South America as a great confederated republic may one day be realised; and some of his admirers find consolation for his failure in the actual field of statesmanship in their hope that as a prophet of the future he will be more successful.

Bolivar the man, in contrast with the soldier and the

statesman, does not present a very attractive figure. His early education, carried out under the direction of a Rousseau-inspired idealogue, left him devoid of decent moral principles; and though the defects of his early instruction were afterwards corrected, at least on the intellectual side, the moral lacunae were never wholly filled up. Hence may have come his somewhat feeble principles as to honourable conduct as exemplified in his treachery towards Miranda, who may claim the title of Precursor of Spanish-America liberty, and, in some degree at least, his bloodthirsty ferocity as evidenced time and again, particularly in his deliberate massacres of prisoners. While one may find excuse for such ferocity in the practice of some of the opposing commanders, such as Monteverde or Boves—a human tiger—still one must not easily pass it over in a man for whom is claimed the epithet "great." There was something in Bolivar's make-up that prevented him from being personally popular even with men who readily submitted to the ascendancy of his genius. Perhaps they were influenced by such traits of character as have been mentioned, and who will say they were not justified?

The years 1819-24 may be described as the critical period in this prolonged struggle. These were the years when the revolutionary cause was assisted by volunteers from various European nations, including a fairly large contingent from our own shores. Naturally the motives were varied that impelled those legionaries to throw themselves into the American struggle. Some doubtless were influenced by the desire to help the cause of liberty; but, indisputably, most of them were frank soldiers of fortune, adventurers who—and with all the more reason because of the distress prevalent in post-war Europe—saw in the troubles of the times prospects of personal advantage. The various European countries of the period were the fruitful hunting-ground for the recruiting sergeants, and hence it is not to be wondered at that

large numbers of men were found ready to hearken to the promises of fame and fortune to be won in the conflict raging in South America.

The accounts of the achievements of these soldiers of fortune are most unsatisfactory—scrappy, unconnected, and, for the most part, unconvincing. Recently a serious attempt has been made to present their story as a connected and compact whole in *Foreign Legionaries in the Liberation of Spanish South America*—a book, which despite defects due to the difficulty of the author's material, is not without merit. At least, it attempts to tell the story in a fairly complete fashion and to evaluate in a sober spirit the services rendered by foreign soldiers to the cause they had espoused.

Of special interest to Irish readers is the account given of the part taken in the conflict by the volunteers from Ireland. Their story begins with the coming to Dublin in 1819 of John D'Evereux or Devereux, commissioned, as he declared, by Bolivar to raise an Irish Legion of 5,000, and empowered to make munificient promises to those who would attach themselves to his standard. D'Evereux was certainly a romantic figure, and his coming to Dublin added to the animation of the city. He established his headquarters in Dawson Street, at Morrison's Hotel—a place of fame in connection with subsequent Irish political affairs. Here it was that Parnell made his Dublin headquarters in the early days of the Irish Party; here Sergeant McCarthy died on the morrow of his arrival in Dublin after release from penal servitude, where he had come with his fellow ex-convict, Michael Davitt, to breakfast on the invitation of Parnell; here Parnell himself was arrested by John Mallon on the morning of October 13, 1881, and taken to Kilmainham, whence he was to issue on the eve of the Phoenix Park tragedy; and it was here that just a year later on his sick-bed he revised the draft constitution of the Irish National League. At any rate, in 1819 it was a notable

rendezvous for all that was fashionable in the life of Dublin. Crowds resorted to it to attend the brilliant levees of General John D'Evereux. Banquets were given in his honour, which were attended by the great O'Connell, who spoke more than once in public eulogy of the enterprise. At least in those days the great Tribune did not preach his famous "not worth a single drop of blood" doctrine, and he advocated war for liberty—at any rate in Spanish America. He sent his son Morgan to serve on the staff of Bolivar; a nephew, Maurice, also "joined up." D'Evereux certainly was a boon to the "lion-hunters" of the Dublin of 1819.

Who exactly D'Evereux was is not very clear. Dr. Hasbrouck's account, depreciatory in the extreme, is not very definite as to his identity. He states that he was an Irishman, whose activities in '98 had forced him into exile in the United States. Mrs. Marion Mulhall in her *Explorers of the New World*—largely a rehash of parts of her husband's book, *The English in South America*, states that he was the son of a British General, by whom he was left a large fortune, "which while yet very young he determined to devote to the attainment of South American independence." Another account is given in O'Keefe's *Life of O'Connell*, where he is described as an American by birth of Irish extraction. In the brief notice allotted to D'Evereux, the *Diccionario Encyclopedico Hispano-Americano* does not give any more satisfactory details. Whatever fortune he may have inherited or whatever his origin and previous history, it would seem that by 1819 he had dissipated his resources, for it is clear enough that he came to Dublin as an adventurer who saw in the South American conflict a promising opportunity to advance his fortunes.

A very unflattering portrait is painted of him in Thomas Kennedy's *Recollections of a Silent Agitator*. The animus of the writer is too extreme to render his account convincing. He rightly dwells on his incapacity

to organise a military expedition, and he goes further, not hesitating to refer to him as " that crimp, D'Evereux," and roundly stating that he was in secret negotiation with Lord Liverpool with the purpose of depleting Ireland of men of military spirit, whose talents might otherwise find employment in the cause of Irish liberty. Kennedy was present at one of the levees at Morrison's where he witnessed the unfurling of the Standard of the Legion—the old traditional Irish flag with a golden harp encircled by the stars of Colombia. Kennedy's tone is marked by the bitterness that is familiar in Irish intransigeant writing, which seems to be naturally prone to denigration and to the ascription of evil motives, and which admits of no moderation in either its praise or blame. There is not a particle of evidence, or indeed of probability, that D'Evereux was a British secret agent. O'Connell, no bad judge of men, took him as genuinely accredited by the South American Revolutionary Authorities, as indeed he was, as may be shown by a citation from the New Granada Army Roll, where under the date March 1842, occurs the following :—

> General John D'Evereux, having received orders from General Bolivar in January, 1819, to go to Ireland and raise an Irish Legion, was made a General of Division on December 14 of the same year, and landed with his Legion in January 1820, when he at once entered on the campaign. His services in the Magdalena were so arduous that he contracted a dangerous illness, which afflicted him with blindness in the closing years of his life.
>
> He handed over the command of the Legion to General English in October 1821, and was engaged on special military commissions till December 1823, when he was appointed Colombian Envoy Extraordinary to various European Courts.

This extract, taken from Mrs. Mulhall's book, does not seem to be known to Dr. Hasbrouck. It is true that as a summary of his services it contains several inaccuracies, but it at any rate redeems him from the charge of being a merely dishonest impostor or a secret British agent.

The hostings at Morrison's at length came to an end, and the legionaries were to learn that war is something other than a succession of junkettings. Their lesson began as soon as the first detachments embarked. The ships were ill-found, without any preparation for a lengthy voyage by considerable bodies of men. Discontent made itself felt before the ships were out of sight of the Irish Coast, and some fifty mutineers were put ashore at Waterford to the great indignation and dismay of the citizens, who naturally could feel no welcome for those desperate and destitute warriors, in whom they could only see a menace to their lives and property. The destination of the ships was the island of St. Margarita to the north of the Vice Royalty of New Granada, where the men were finally landed after a voyage marked by every hardship. On land they found that their plight was, if anything, worse than on sea. No preparations had been made for their reception either in the way of quarters or provisions. The climate was unsuitable for Europeans, and disease swiftly made itself felt amongst them. There was nothing adequate in the way of medical provision, and soon from disease and starvation large numbers either died or were rendered unfit for the rigours of the campaigns that confronted them. No wonder that a spirit of mutiny showed itself. D'Evereux's glowing promises were found to be as unsubstantial as dead sea fruit. Many demanded to be repatriated by the same vessels in which they had come. In those who remained there was a general frame of mind that boded ominously for their successful endurance of a campaign that was to be marked by hardships as severe as ever soldiers were called to endure. Many of the legionary officers were men of no military experience, who had purchased their commissions for cash down from D'Evereux—the grade being determined by the amount the aspirant was willing to pay, without any reference to his fitness. Some of them, no doubt, such as O'Connor and Aylmer, were men of capacity and experience—but not many. Consequently

it was not until March of 1820 that the Legion was deemed fit to enter on the active work of war.

Accordingly the expedition, which was meant for Rio Hacha, sailed for the mainland. It included about 450 men of the Irish Legion. From Rio Hacha they proceeded through a difficult country on a march in which the men were called on to endure very severe hardships. They were very badly equipped, and their route was beset by enemies whose persistent attacks inflicted much injury on them. The soldiers acquitted themselves gallantly when brought into touch with the enemy and were much more anxious than the creoles, who were in supreme command, to advance. But retreat, not advance, was the order of the day with those over-prudent or timid chiefs. The ground won by arduous marches, as soon as gained, was ordered to be abandoned—too soon to please the Irishmen, who at length, to the number of about 300, mutinied and demanded their discharge and the promised pay, of which up to then they had not received a single penny. They were too strong to be subdued by force, as had been the English legion that had previously mutinied in similar conditions, and too determined to be cajoled by further promises. Accordingly it was decided to send them back to Jamaica to be transhipped thence to England. Bolivar on hearing of the revolt was deeply enraged, and he wrote that he was " pleased to be rid of these vile mercenaries who would do no killing until they had been paid for it "—an outburst which, while it may suggest that the Liberator's views as to the degree of altruism expected from these worthy to co-operate in his enterprise were somewhat high for human nature, may be set down to exasperation explicable in one beset by his difficulties. Dr. Hasbrouck stigmatises the conduct of the legionaries as " disgraceful," forgetting that in real life one ought not to look for the spirit that inspired the paladins of romance. And paladins the legionaries, from whatever country they came, certainly were not.

The legion as a legion had now ceased to exist. Those who remained lost their national identity, being merged in other units and divisions, with which they continued to serve until the close of the war. Republican post-victory eulogists of foreign aid speak of the "glorious British Legion," but it ought to be remembered that probably at least one half of this Legion was Irish. The casualty lists which survive show frequently at least that proportion of Irish names. If Republican gratitude seems to restrict itself to British aid, its action may possibly be ascribed to policy, but it may also be explained by what Dr. Johnson would term "pure ignorance." An amusing instance may be cited. A special number of the memorial of the general staff of the army of Columbia was published in honour of the daughter of General O'Leary, who had served Bolivar faithfully throughout the war and wrote after his death what may be described as his official biography. The dedication of the memorial thus begins: "And you, noble lady, daughter of O'Leary of aristocratic English lineage." This of the daughter of Daniel Florence O'Leary from Cork!

The promises of D'Evereux were certainly not realised. Some members of the legion, very few indeed, did find in the new South America honour and fortune. Of most of them, however, not even the names are known, except so far as they are entered in such rosters of units and detachments as may still survive. *Nos Numerus Sumus* would form not an inappropriate legend for inscription on their banner. As one reads their story one is irresistibly reminded of the poignant lines of Emily Lawless, which apply to them with even more point than to their European prototypes:—

War-battered dogs are we,
Fighters in every clime,
Fillers of trench and grave,
Mockers bemocked by Time;

War-dogs battered and grey,
Gnawing a naked bone,
Fighters in every clime,
Every cause but our own.

Among those who went out in the D'Evereux legion there are but few of sufficient interest or importance to call for more than casual mention. Morgan O'Connell has already been mentioned, but beyond the fact that he was attached to Bolivar's staff, there seems to be known of his career as a soldier nothing of any special military interest. W. J. Fitzpatrick in his edition of *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell* can find nothing for his note on a letter, in which his father refers to Morgan, more interesting or apposite than the trite words : " Mr. Morgan O'Connell duly served in the South American Army of Independence."

A more note-worthy figure by reason of his connection with Irish movements and his subsequent military career is William Aylmer (1770-1820) of Painstown, Co. Kildare —a member of the Catholic branch of the well-known Kildare family of that name, and brother of Rev. Charles Aylmer, S.J., second Rector of Clongowes Wood College (1817-1820). Aylmer had been an officer in a British Regiment in Ireland. Influenced by his friend Lord Edward Fitzgerald, he threw up his Commission and joined the popular cause. He played a notable part in the insurgent operations in Kildare, showing special skill in guerilla tactics. He drove the regular forces out of Maynooth, and was in charge of the insurgent force in the engagement of the " murdering ditch " at Ovidstown, 19 June 1798. Later, joined by some of the Wexford forces after Vinegar Hill, he endeavoured to force his way to Athlone, but was defeated at Clonard, and surrendered to General Dundas after bargaining that all the leaders who had joined the adventure with him should be granted liberty to retire whither they desired out of the British dominions. There are two references

to him in the Castlereagh *Memoirs and Correspondence* (Vol. II.), in the index to which he is described as "'General' Aylmer," The first reference is in a letter (dated February 3, 1799 written from Whitehall) which states: "Mr. Wogan Brown called to-day, bringing with him young Aylmer, who acted so distinguished a part in the Rebellion, and desiring to know whether there could be any objection to his remaining in this country." The second is in a letter, dated Whitehall, August 13, 1799, which states: "There is Aylmer, a Rebel General from the County of Kildare, who, I understand, is at this moment walking about the streets of London." Subsequently, under the terms of the "Banishment Act," he was permitted to retire to any neutral country on the Continent, guarantees being demanded that he would not pass into an enemy country. Aylmer entered the service of Austria and served with distinction against Napoleon. He rose to the rank of Colonel, and evidently was highly thought of in his new career. Many years later, as Teeling records in his *Sequel to Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion*, in response to a request addressed by the Regent of England to the Austrian Emperor "for the services of an experienced officer to instruct the British cavalry in that system of tactics which has rendered the Austrian squadrons the admiration of the military world," Aylmer was selected for the task, and acquitted himself so well as to merit a "special token of royal favour." On the establishment of European peace his career in the Austrian army closed, and he re-appears as a soldier in the adventure initiated by D'Evereux. On landing at Margarita he had to endure the sufferings that awaited the unfortunate legion in which he was a colonel. With it he took part in the Rio Hacha expedition, where fighting bravely he received a wound which in a short time proved mortal. He died at Jamaica in 1820.

The member of the legion who fared best was William

O'Connor, or Francis Burdett O'Connor as he came to be called as a mark of respect for his father's somewhat eccentric political friend, Sir Francis Burdett. O'Connor was a friend of Aylmer, through whose influence he procured a commission in the force of D'Evereux. He was born in 1781, the second son of a very curious, not to say notorious, character, Roger O'Connor of Connerville, Co. Cork. Dr. Hasbrouck, relying on the *Memoirs* of Francis Burdett O'Connor, misrepresents the position of the family and its relation to the life of Ireland in the insurrection period. The idea that Roger O'Connor was banished from Ireland and his "estates wholly confiscated for leading a rebellion against England" has not a vestige of foundation except perhaps in the imagination of his son. Madden's *United Irishmen* (Second Series) gives a very interesting study of the career of Roger O'Connor. From this it is apparent that political matters had but little to do with his relations to the Irish Government of his day. Francis served with distinction under Bolivar to the end of the war of independence. In 1839 he retired from active life, and as he did not die until 1871 he had ample leisure for the composition of his *Memoirs*, which are accounted as valuable evidential documents for the history of the revolutionary campaign. His services to the country of his adoption were rewarded with sufficient generosity to guarantee him a comfortable competence for the remainder of his life. It has been said, and no doubt with truth, that his writings are valuable for the historian of the era in which he lived, but one must bear in mind that he was his father's son, and that he possessed his father's imaginative power, especially as regards the motives he ascribes for his actions. Certainly it was not hostility to England that led him to the army of Bolivar, whose activities were helping to give actuality to Canning's rhetorical boast that his policy had called into existence "a new world to redress the balance of the old."

As has been already stated the other members of the Irish legion, so far as they are known at all to posterity, are known only by name—mere ciphers in an army list. Their services—or at least the services of some of them—were recognised and remunerated in some degree, for after the victory was won the new-born republics were in a mood of grateful remembrance, even if their gratitude was disposed to confine itself too closely to honorific titles and emblems. In such forms of reward at any rate, they cannot be justly accused of niggardliness.

It has been claimed frequently that the services of these foreigners were of considerable importance to the revolutionary cause and no slight factors in its ultimate success. But one cannot say that their presence counted for very much in the struggle. It is true of course that the accession of some hundreds of fighting men—many of them trained in the long European wars—may at critical moments have helped to turn the scales of victory against the royalists, but this is the most that can be advanced to their credit. Certainly their participation in the struggle is not to the credit of the British administration of the day that connived at recruiting against a friendly power, nor is it to the credit of Irishmen such as O'Connell that they made themselves advocates of a cause that was not Ireland's and so sent Irishmen to wretchedness and death in an enterprise which concerned them not at all.

W. J. Williams.

OLIVER POLLOCK

Financier of the American Revolution in the West

BY JAMES ALTON JAMES

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IN early August, 1776, George Gibson, a Virginian, in the disguise of a trader, was granted an audience by Luis de Unzaga, Spanish Governor of Louisiana. This " humbly-clad citizen," as he was called in a dispatch of the governor, was captain of a Virginia company. He was accompanied by Lieutenant William Linn and fifteen other supposed traders from Fort Pitt. The mission upon which they came to New Orleans was to prove of the utmost importance throughout the Revolution, not alone to Virginia but to the cause of all America.

Captain Gibson was bearer of a dispatch from General Charles Lee, commander-in-chief of the Southern District and second in command of the American army. He spoke also for the Virginia Committee of Safety. The content of the message was well calculated to win the favour of Governor Unzaga, and likewise to gain assistance from King Charles III and his advisers. " It must be known, sir," Lee writes, " that these Provinces, wearied with being oppressed, and having flattered themselves for a long time, but in vain, for a redress from their ills by means of prayers and remonstrances, have at length determined to break all intercourse with a country which they had always regarded as their mother, but which they can now no longer regard else than as a scourge of injustice and cruelty. They lack neither force nor courage to maintain their rights, but they do lack the means necessary to maintain war." In return for the " known generosity of the Spaniards," which he pleads should be extended at that

time, he set forth the advantages which would result to Spain from the establishment of a systematic trade with the thirteen united provinces. Not only the spirit of humanity and generosity, but also the interest and the security of Spanish sovereignty in America should convince the governor of the desirability of securing for the American army such necessities as guns, blankets, and medicines, especially quinine.

That Captain Gibson was given an audience by Governor Unzaga was due to the mediation of Oliver Pollock, who translated the letter from General Lee, provided accommodation for the entire party, and took measures to conceal them and their business from the many British spies then in New Orleans. As stated by Pollock, he was particularly favoured and countenanced by the Spanish government.

For eight years he had resided in New Orleans. As trader, merchant, and plantation owner he was possessed of capital, credit, and personal respectability, " which gave him an elevation and opened prospects as flattering as his most sanguine hopes could have desired." From the outbreak of the Revolution, as expressed by one of his intimate friends, " his soul panted for the success of the American arms ; nor could he omit any opportunity of manifesting the sincerity and ardour of those feelings, when it was in his power to be useful either to the public interest or to any of the individuals who had embarked their fortunes and their lives in an enterprise so hazardous and so glorious." This expression is the more remarkable when it is known that it refers to one who had been resident in an American colony for the short period of two years.

When twenty-three of age, Pollock had come from Coleraine, North Ireland, to Philadelphia (1760), accompanied by his father, a brother, and a young nephew. After two years Oliver went to the West Indies, where he became a port to port trader, evidently owning a

vessel, with headquarters at Havana. The following commission received by him from a Philadelphia firm is typical :—" You have herewith Inclosed Invoice and Bill of lading for Sundrys Amounting to One Hundred and Twenty four Pounds which we desire you may dispose of at whatever Port you may meet the best market and as soon as an oppt'y serves we desire you may send us a Remittance in Dollars or Johanna's. If Molasses can be had at 12 pence per gall would recommend it to you to Ship us eight hhds and some for yrself x x x." His success in disposing of such consignments for various Philadelphia merchants soon enabled him to become an independent trader and merchant. In this manner, for five years, he continued to advance his resources.

During these years, also, he became proficient in the use of Spanish, and won the confidence of the leading Cuban officials. Among them was Alexander O'Reilly, Irish soldier of fortune, who, because of his marked service in the Spanish army and an incident wherein he saved the life of King Charles III, was awarded the rank of major-general and second in command at Havana. He was also made a count.

In the course of the year 1768 Pollock went to New Orleans and began extending his trading ventures more widely from that centre. On August 17 of the following year Count O'Reilly, with twenty-four vessels carrying twenty-six hundred troops, appeared at the capitol and demanded that the command should be surrendered by the French Governor in conformity with the treaty of cession (1762). The formal surrender was marked with great military pomp.

To capture a town of three thousand inhabitants with an overwhelming military force proved an easier task than to supply the troops with the necessary provisions. The colony was threatened with famine. Flour quickly rose to twenty dollars a barrel, and was obtained with difficulty at that price. Fortunately Pollock was owner

of a boat-load of flour which had but recently come from Baltimore. This he proffered to the General on his own terms. Finally fifteen dollars a barrel was paid for the flour; but for this mark of generosity Pollock was granted freedom of trade in Louisiana. The ensuing five years was a period of marked expansion in his trading ventures. As described by himself, for twelve years before the Revolution he had been "supplied with dry-goods from London, negroes from Africa, and flour from Philadelphia to the River Mississippi (for all which I had no bills protested); and by the correspondence I had with the Commercial Houses in Philadelphia, I became known to the United States."

He had become the owner, also, of a plantation, and bought and sold lands at Baton Rouge, Manchac, and as far north as Natchez. The relations established through one of these transactions was to prove of value for the American cause at the outbreak of the Revolution. Fifteen hundred acres of land, adjoining a parcel of five hundred acres of which Pollock was the owner, were purchased by him for "his friends," Willing and Morris of Philadelphia. At times Pollock visited that city, on his trading vessels, and it seems probable he received such commissions in person. To Robert Morris, junior member of this firm, who, on occasion, accompanied his ship-captains on voyages to the West Indies, was shortly to be entrusted the chairmanship of a secret committee of the Continental Congress having power to contract for the importation of arms, cartridges and gunpowder. Pollock became at once his chief reliance in the West.

But was Pollock, influential as he had become in Spanish official circles, to win favorable consideration by Governor Unzaga for the appeal of General Lee? Of greater immediate importance for the American cause was the plan which had been conceived by Captain Gibson himself, namely, to secure gunpowder from New Orleans.

During the preceding April, Pollock's efforts with

Unzaga to secure Spanish protection for some American vessels against their seizure by a British sloop of war, on the representation that they were in a neutral port, proved unavailing. To what extent the Governor was influenced by the proposals in Lee's letter can only be conjectured, but he finally permitted the sale of 10,000 pounds of powder to Pollock. This changed attitude, Pollock declared, was, in part, a result of the publication of the Declaration of Independence, knowledge of which was brought by Captain Gibson.

Lieutenant Linn, with forty-three men, set out, up the river, September 22, taking with him nine thousand pounds of the powder. Arriving at the Arkansas Post, they were given a favourable reception by the Spanish commander. Here they spent the winter, for their stock of provisions was exhausted. With the coming of spring, meat having been procured by hunting, and rice and other provisions having been purchased from the Spanish store, with orders drawn on Pollock to the amount of twelve hundred dollars, the voyage was resumed. They reached Wheeling the second of May, at a time when that post and Fort Pitt were in dire need of the powder for protection and for furthering their dealings with the Indians. In October Captain Gibson, who had been imprisoned by the decree of the governor in order to quiet the suspicions of the British consul, was permitted to embark for Philadelphia on a vessel dispatched by Pollock. He took with him the balance of the powder in carefully concealed packages. Captain George Ord, whose vessel had been seized by a British sloop, and who had been protected by Pollock and furnished with supplies, accompanied Gibson.

To each of them was furnished information regarding the situation at New Orleans. Gibson was bearer of a letter from Pollock addressed to the Virginia Council of Safety. To Captain Ord was given another message intended for a committee of Congress, of which Robert

Morris was a member. Both messages closed with the words: "Permit me, therefore, to make tender of my hearty Services and to assure you that my Conduct shall be ever such as to merit Confidence and approbation of the Country to whom I owe everything but my birth." This promise must have brought new hope to Morris, who was declaring that the calls upon him for money were "loud, large and constant."

Don Bernardo de Galvez, who succeeded to the government of Louisiana in January (1777), belonged to an influential Spanish family. He was twenty-nine years of age and was noted for his energy and ambition. Governor Unzaga presented Pollock to his successor as a "faithful and zealous American, in whom he might repose implicit confidence." Governor Galvez at once tendered his services to Pollock, and assured him that he would go every possible length for the interests of Congress. He declared that the port of New Orleans would be open and free to American commerce and to the admission and sale of prizes made by American cruisers. American trading vessels, upon arrival at the mouth of the river, were seized as Spanish property in order to protect them from British armed sloops. Seizure of an American schooner provoked an order for the capture and confiscation of all British vessels between the Balize and Manchac. Galvez refused to accede to the demand made by the governor of Pensacola for the surrender of Pollock. Aid to American troops, in goods and money, was tendered in the event of an expedition for the capture of Pensacola. Pollock urged action by the American government, and suggested that blank commissions should be sent for enlisting troops in New Orleans.

By July (1777) the request embodied in the letter of General Lee bore fruit, and there were deposited at New Orleans, subject to the order of Virginia, two thousand barrels of gunpowder, a quantity of lead, and a large amount of clothing. A year earlier the Duke de Grimaldi,

Spanish prime minister, under the influence of Vergennes, induced Charles III to duplicate the secret loan of one million livres made by France to America. A continuation of the war would enable Spain, it was believed, to attack Portugal while Great Britain was unable to come to the rescue. She awaited the opportunity also to take Gibraltar.

The fate of the West was largely dependent on the generosity of Governor Galvez and the liberality of Oliver Pollock. By the end of the year 1777 Galvez had aided the Americans by sending arms, ammunition and provisions to the Mississippi posts and to the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia to the amount of $70,000. Early in 1778 Pollock was informed of his appointment as commercial agent for the United States by the Committee of Secret Correspondence. He was authorized to purchase and ship forty or fifty thousand dollars worth of blankets and other supplies for the army of the United States. These goods were to be forwarded in fast-sailing vessels which he was directed to charter or buy. Two drafts, amounting to $30,000, were sent in part payment, and the balance was to be met by a shipment of flour. Four months later, however, Pollock was informed by the Commercial Committee that, on account of the British blockade of the coast, it was impossible to send a consignment of flour. Because of their necessities he was urged to forward the goods at once by sea, as transportation up the Mississippi was too slow and danger of capture by Indians was constant. Within a month, however, Pollock was directed to send part of the goods up the river to Fort Pitt, where a quantity of flour had been sent to cover the cost.

But transportation on the Mississippi, after the first of May, was hazardous. Manchac and Natchez were under British control. Pollock ordered his boats to return, and sent a warning to the Spanish commander at Arkansas Post to prevent any boats from descending the river.

From this post Americans were still able to secure supplies with orders drawn on Pollock. With the closing of the river, Pollock continued to send vessels by sea loaded with taffia, brandy, sugar, coffee, men's shoes and flannel. Securing these goods was made possible through a further advance of $6,000 by Galvez, although he had informed Pollock that he was not invested with such authority from his government and that in case of a rupture with Great Britain all of his resources would be needed for defence of the colony.

By the middle of August (1778) the news of the success of George Rogers Clark at Kaskaskia reached New Orleans. That financial assistance for his expedition had received little consideration from Clark or Governor Henry is evident from the following statement by Clark :—" The short notice I had of my destination, not more than ten days, having to settle my business in so short a time, I never thought of asking anything about it. I remember that his Excelly the Governor told me I could get what I wanted from Mr. Pollock." The 1,200 pounds in Continental currency which had been granted him by the Virginia authorities were quickly exhausted.

Without funds, Clark began, after the capture of Kaskaskia, to issue bills of credit on Virginia in exchange for supplies. These were satisfactory to merchants and traders, for they were received and paid at their face value in silver by Pollock. Full credit was accorded by Clark to Pollock for the aid given, by which he was enabled to hold the Illinois posts.

The first of these bills of credit sent to New Orleans amounted to $8,500. These were accepted by Pollock, although (as he wrote Clark) " the heavy expenses of this [Willing] party which remained here so long behind the time expected and other advances I am in just now for the States, render it exceedingly inconvenient for me to pay your Bills. But the cause in which we are embarked urges me to strain every nerve, and luckily having

a number of good Friends has hitherto enabled me to serve my Country. In consequence of this I have accepted your Bills; the holder of two of them happens to be one of my Friends and says he will not call on me before January, by which time I hope to be provided with Flour by the States or you to pay them. The others I must pay when due." That he was without resources to perform his engagements unless supplies were granted, was the content of his message to the Committee of Congress a few days earlier. Moreover, a cargo of peltries, valued at $14,500 and owned by Pollock, had recently been seized by an agent of the United States on the plea that the government was indebted to him and the peltries were being shipped by their agent.

Clark urged that an additional $5,000 in supplies suitable for his soldiers should be forwarded to him. Five hundred pounds of powder were sent, at once, in response to this request. The demands of importers for silver money in payment for goods could not at the time be met by Pollock. He then granted Clark permission to take such articles as he needed from a cargo of goods, amounting to $7,200, which had been sent up the river consigned to the agents of the general government. During September (1778) 2,000 pounds of powder and other supplies were sent by him to Clark.

Notwithstanding the insistent demands on the part of his creditors, Pollock succeeded in forwarding to Clark in January five hundred pounds of powder and four swivels. He was able, also, to satisfy Clark's further demands through contracting for the use of his slaves on the public works at New Orleans. After paying a discount of twelve and one half per cent. he secured $10,000. In this manner, as he said, " he had kept the constable from the door."

Not only had the Commercial Committee and the Governor of Virginia neglected to provide Pollock with funds to meet their demands for goods, but they failed to advise him of any method by which such obligations

would be covered. This failure was due partly to the capture of Philadelphia and the confusion incident to the removal of government papers and in part to the deranged condition of affairs in Congress growing out of the frequent succession of new members. Owing to the short crop of wheat in 1778 and the necessity of furnishing supplies, not only to the American army but to the troops accompanying Count D'Estaing, the government was forced to place an embargo on all provisions. The attitude of the new Commercial Committee, which was appointed in the middle of December, gave promise of greater regularity in the conduct of affairs at New Orleans. They were empowered by Congress to exert every possible effort in making remittances to Pollock. The promise of an unusual wheat harvest, "the finest crop that had been known for many years," gave assurance that these conditions would be fulfilled.

By July (1779) Pollock has so far exhausted his credit that, in meeting a further order from Governor Henry for goods amounting to $10,000, he was forced to mortgage a part of his landed estate. At that time he had paid bills drawn on Virginia amounting to $33,000. The flour and meal which had been promised him had not been forwarded. Although he had received no recognition whatever from the Governor, he remarked with a spirit of optimism: "However, I hope there is a good time coming."

Twenty-five thousand dollars in bills drawn by Clark were under protest at New Orleans. More than one-half of these represented the expense incident to fitting out the expedition against Vincennes. They were issued in favour of a number of the inhabitants of Illinois, Francis Vigo being the leading creditor. These drafts had been received by the French merchants and traders in preference to the continental money which had recently appeared in small quantities.

It is remarkable that confidence of the people in the government, together with the efforts of Pollock, sus-

tained this money at par when it had so far depreciated in the East as to be worth only twelve cents on the dollar. But traders, becoming aware of this situation, rushed to Illinois, where goods might be procured with certificates at their face value. Describing the outcome, Clark wrote Governor Henry: "There is one circumstance very distressing, that of our own moneys being discredited, to all intents and purposes, by the great number of traders who come here in my absence, each outbidding the other, giving prices unknown in this country by five hundred per cent., by which the people conceived it to be of no value, and both French and Spanish refused to take a farthing of it."

On returning to Kaskaskia, after Vincennes, Clark was not surprised to find that his credit at New Orleans was exhausted. "I am sorry to learn," he wrote Pollock, "you have not been supplied with funds, as expected, your protesting my late Bills has not surprised me. As I Expected it being surrounded by Enemies Mr. Hamilton and his Savages. Being obligated for my own safety to lay in Considerable stores, I was oblidged to take every step I possibly could to procure them unwilling to use force."

From this brief sketch, it is seen that victory in the West was due not alone to the sacrifices of soldiers. Clark and his officers were ready on all occasions to give credit to civilians, such as Francis Vigo and Gabriel Cerré, for their assistance in procuring the bare necessities without which their plans must have failed. But to Pollock above all others they accorded chief praise because of his sacrifices in meeting their demands as well as those of Virginia and of the United States. "The invoice of Mr. Pollock rendered upon all occasions in paying those bills," Clark wrote (1785), "I considered at the time and now to be one of the happy circumstances that enabled me to keep possession of that country."

As agent for the United States and impliedly of Virginia

—for that State later protested that his formal appointment had never been confirmed—he made advances during the war amounting to $300,000. In reply to his appeal for remittances to the secret committee of Congress, consisting of Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, and Richard Henry Lee, they wrote, July 19, 1779, that while they recognised his claims, his sacrifices, and his faithfulness to duty, they were unable to make good any promises.

His claim against Virginia for advances made to Clark and his officers amounted in January, 1782, to $139,739, and according to his testimony, in July of that year he was in debt at New Orleans to the amount of $92,199 for money borrowed to support Virginia troops in the West. For months he was a suppliant before the assembly of that state, asking in vain for relief from a situation defined by him as follows :—

> When I undertook the Agency of the United States and conceived it my Duty to Act for Virginia also, my credit was extensive, my fortune equal to 100,000 Dollars. At this Day my credit as a merchant is injured, my fortune annihilated, and my numerous family become Pensioners on the Bounty of my Friends.

In his distress he besought the assistance of Clark.

> It may not be amiss to observe that before I could leave New Orleans or be permitted by my creditors to Depart this Country, I was obliged to sell my Dwelling House, Plantation Slaves, Stock, Furniture, Store Goods, and part of my wife's Domesticks, to distribute their proceeds among my much injured creditors—Creditors, Sir, made from the most virtuous motives, the desire of serving a country I loved, in distress, in a Cause my Judgment approved. The feeling human Heart will readily Conceive the Anguish of my Tortured Soul, at parting with my wife and numerous family, Whom I reduced to Extreme misery and distress by Unprudently giving these Tortures to serve a Country, Whom Gratitude and Justice I had *too much* confidence in. I am too Conscious of the Rectitude of my Conduct, and feel too sensibly the suffering which have arose from a Zeal, perhaps more warm than prudent, to apprehend a longer Delay of such

Justice to which Effort Sentiment from an Honest Heart must proclaim me entitled.

My fortune, which was respectable when you Sir by your address found the way to draw it from me, is now exhausted and I would be contented if it were not worse, I have extended my Credit for the Service of Virginia and borrowed for the same purpose 100,000 dollars from different people at New Orleans and now Sir when I appeared here with my accounts in hopes of finding Government disposed to pay, and to pay me with gratitude, assurances of which I have had from you, I find they are as destitute of inclination as of the means of paying me . . ."

Clark replied :—

I am heartily sorry that you should meet with such disappointments in the settlement of your accounts, . . . If I was worth the money I would most cheerfully pay it myself and trust the state, But can assure you with truth I am entirely Reduced myself by advancing Everything I could Raise.

Examples of self-sacrifice on the part of leaders during the Revolution and of the utter inability of governments, both state and federal, to meet their obligations are nowhere else more clearly portrayed. Indeed, in a communication of Pollock to the President of Congress, there is to be found an appeal that the real patriot will appreciate as long as our nation endures :—

It has not been my fortune to move on a splendid Theatre, where the weary Actor frequently finds in the Applause of his Audience, new motives for Exertion. I dwelt in an Obscure Corner of the Universe alone and unsupported. I have laboured without ceasing, I have neglected the road to affluence, I have exhausted my all, and plunged myself deeply in Debt to support the Cause of America. In the Hours of her Distress, and when those who call'd themselves Friends, were Daily deserting her, But these things I do not Boast of, What I do boast of is, that I have a Heart Still ready (had I the means) to bear sufferings, and make new sacrifices.

That Congress was helpless but not oblivious to his appeals is seen in the reply : that Pollock had exerted himself with much zeal and industry as commercial agent of the United States at New Orleans ; and that he had

advanced large sums of money and had contracted large debts in the service of the United States and Virginia. It was recommended that all of the balances should be paid or security given for payment whenever the state of the public funds should make it possible.

With a keen sense of disappointment at his failure to secure relief, with humility because of his inability to secure the release of his attorney, who was being held as a hostage in New Orleans by Spanish creditors, Pollock was cheered by the hope (1783) that by becoming commercial agent at Havana, an office tendered him by the federal government, he might be enabled to discharge his debts. Permission was granted him by Spanish officials to trade in flour and provisions, with seeming promise of handsome profits. Pursued with the bills of his New Orleans creditors, which he was unable to satisfy, he was arrested and held in custody, the subject of "many indignities from the officers of justice and the arrogance of other Spanish officers." His wife and family were permitted to go to Philadelphia bearing the appeal, addressed to the Financier General, that the interest due on his accounts should be paid to Mrs. Pollock, since she had no other means of support.

His letter to the Governor of Virginia some months later was of like intent :—

> I hope Your Excell'y will in turn pay the same honour to my signature as I have done to yours at a *critical moment* for a much larger sum, for which and my other advances for your State, I and my family are reduced to implore as a charity what is due by common justice.

Robert Morris wrote :—

> With respect to this Gentleman's application for money, I found my hands tied up by an Act of Congress ; and therefore neither his Services nor Sufferings nor a view of those Distresses to which a helpless Family are reduced, could induce me to grant that Relief which Justice and Humanity did equally demand. I persuade myself, however, that it will be among the earliest objects calling for the attention of Congress to alleviate Sufferings

which in their Causes and in their attending Circumstances are equally severe and extraordinary.

Early in 1785 his friend during revolutionary days, Galvez, came to Havana as governor of Cuba. Through his influence Pollock was released, and after eighteen months, characterized by him as "the gloomy confinement and tedious detention of my person," he was granted permission to embark for Philadelphia. He gave bond that all of his obligations to Spanish subjects, which he had incurred, should be paid in full.

Still virtually a prisoner on parole, Pollock continued to petition the President of Congress and the Virginia Assembly that at least small pittances should be advanced on his account which might be used for the support of his family. Finally (December, 1785) he was awarded the sum of $90,000 by Congress; but the treasury was empty, and he was not paid for another six years.

Meanwhile, securing funds on his credit, he fitted out a vessel, loaded it with flour, and after disposing of the cargo in Martinique, took on another and sailed for New Orleans. Here he was received with favour, and was permitted to carry on his trading ventures. His success was such that by the summer of 1790 he had met all of his financial obligations in that city.

Confirmatory of this remarkable financial recovery, Governor Miró wrote Governor Randolph :—

> Altho' he disposed of all his Estate, real and personal in this Country, at a great disadvantage, for the purpose of fulfilling his engagements with his creditors in this Province, Mr. Pollock has since his late arrival here, very honourably and to the entire satisfaction of his creditors in this Province, discharged all his remaining debts here, to a considerable amount, which he owed on account of the United States and the State of Virginia.

Adjustments between Virginia and the United States having finally been made, Pollock's claim, to the amount of $108,605, was assumed and paid by the federal government. His other accounts with Virginia were eventually paid by that state.

James Alton James.

EARLY IRISH EMIGRATION TO THE WEST INDIES

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Part II[1]

AMONG the earliest State Papers of the Colonial Office is an undated petition of Captain Anthony Brisket, governor of Montserrat, in which he states that he was made Governor by James Earl of Carlisle, and has recently obtained a second commission from "the now Earl"[2]. Brisket had come to England "to carry more planters and necessaries thither," and is erecting a church of stone and brick on the island. He prays for letters to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, and seeks to be admitted a contractor for tobacco at the same rate as Captain Warner and others.

This petition can be dated with fair accuracy. James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle, favourite of Charles I and titular proprietor of the Caribbee Islands, died in March 1636. The petition is evidently to be dated soon after that event. Further, we know from the *Narrative of Sir Henry Colt*, published for the Hakluyt Society by Mr. Harlow in 1925,[3] that Montserrat was not yet "planted" in July 1631. "We arrived at Montserrat," he says, under date July 20, "the land high round mountainous, and full of woods, with no inhabitants: yet were the footsteps seen of some naked men." Brisket's first plantation must then have been between 1631 and 1635, since he got his grant from the first Earl of Carlisle; most probably it was a year or two before the date of the petition.

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[1] For Part I see September issue.

[2] *Cal. State Papers, Colonial Series*, (1574-1660), p. 240

[3] *Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies*, p.83.

Who was Anthony Brisket? Apart from the clause in which he asks for letters to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, there is so far nothing to connect him with Ireland. But thirty years later, in June 1669, we find another petition from an Anthony Briskett to the King, in which the petitioner prays to be restored to his lands in Montserrat.[1] "Petitioner's father, by commission from the Earl of Carlisle, at his own great cost gained from the Indians and planted the Island of Montserrat." Now there is annexed to this second petition a report from Lord William Willoughby, in which he states that petitioner, "being of the Irish nation, accepted a commission from the French King and M. de la Barre to be governor (of the island), especially over the Irish inhabitants of the leeward side, and was governor there till the retaking of the Island by his Majesty's forces." This refers to the years 1666-1668, during which time both St. Christopher's and Montserrat were held by a combination of French and Irish against the English forces. For our present purpose the statement is valuable as proving that Anthony Briskett, father and son, were "of the Irish nation".

Further information can be gleaned from a report sent home by Colonel William Stapleton, at this time Governor of the Leeward Isles.[2] Stapleton had been previously Governor of Montserrat from 1668 to 1671, having been appointed to that post by Lord Willoughby because he was "a man of known valour, good conduct and great integrity, was born in Ireland, and therefore understands the better to govern his countrymen".[3] In his report to the Lords of Trade (Nov. 22, 1676) Stapleton says: "In Montserrat most part are Roman Catholics, it being first settled by those of that persuasion, yet they give no scandal to the Protestant church, which is the prevalent persuasion" (in

[1] *Cal. State Papers, Colonial,* (1669-74), p. 28.

[2] *Ibid,* (1675-76), p. 497-502.

[3] See Higham: *The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration.* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 88.

the Leeward Islands). In Montserrat, he adds, there are "six Catholics to one Protestant, and no Quaker, for they won't let any live among them". This last detail is soon explained. The Quakers, on principle, refused to fight the Indians—and the Indians were cannibals.

Another detail in Stapleton's report throws light on the early days. Only two (Protestant) churches had ever been built in the island. One of these was presumably the church mentioned in the petition of 1636. Both had been demolished by the French during their occupation of the island, but had been rebuilt by order of the Governor (Lord Willoughby) on his arrival in 1668. But on Christmas Day, 1672, they had been levelled with the ground by a terrible earthquake, "and had the people been in the afternoon at church, they had been knocked in the head."

The distinctively Irish character of the settlement in Montserrat is confirmed by a series of earlier reports. Under the Commonwealth, for example, one of the government agents on the fleet sent out in 1655 to capture San Domingo, but which ended by seizing Jamaica, writes home as follows: "We passed Montserrat, planted by English and Irish."[1] And Captain Gregory Butler of the same expedition writes to the Protector himself: "The next (island) is Montserrat, where with all civility we were entertained by the Governor, Osborne."[2] Osborne is known from other State Papers to have been an Irishman, and the guardian of Anthony Briskett's son, Anthony Briskett the younger.[3] Finally Lord William Willoughby reports Montserrat to be in 1668 "a fine little island, but almost wholly possessed by Irish"[4].

These facts make it plain that Montserrat was settled mainly by Irish Catholics in or about the year 1634. It only remains to identify their leader, Captain Anthony

[1] Thurloe, *State Papers III.*, p. 504. [2] *Ibid.* iii., p. 754.
[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial* (1574-1660), p. 420; 434.
[4] *Ibid.* (1661-68, p. 547).

Briskett. Fortunately two American scholars have recently been at pains to study in full detail all that is known of an Anglo-Italian adventurer in Ireland, by name Lodowick Bryskett.[1] Lodowick's father, it appears, was a merchant of Genoa, by name Antonio Bruschetto, who came to London under Henry VIII and was granted letters of denization on December 4, 1536. "Anthony Bryskett" is a name that frequently occurs in the English State Papers of the period; for the Italian had friends in court, and became a wealthy man. Of his five sons, Lodowick first came to Ireland in 1565, as a member of Sir Henry Sidney's household. During the years 1572-4, Bryskett toured Europe as young Philip Sidney's travelling companion. In 1575 he was back in Ireland, where he was clerk of the Privy Council, and became in time a small landholder. Having failed to obtain the lands of William Wogan of Rathcoffey, he was given (in 1581) a farm at Macmine, near Enniscorthy. His circle of friends included Edmond Spenser the poet, and Christopher Carleil, one of the pioneers of English enterprise in the Spanish main. The rising of 1598, which drove Spenser from Kilcolman, drove Bryskett from Wexford, and for the next few years he seems to have acted as an agent of the English Government on the Continent. But he was back in Ireland in 1609, and seems to have regained his former estate at Macmine. He must have died within the next two years, as his widow takes an action in January, 1612, against Murtagh McGilpatrick, who was letting his cattle stray over the land at Macmine and destroying her oats.

According to the American editors of Bryskett's letters, that is all to be known of himself and his family, save that "in 1613 Anthony Briskett was assigned 120 acres of land in County Wexford, but was later deprived of it." But for once they are at fault. In the first place

[1] *The Life and Correspondence of Lodowick Bryskett.* By Henry R. Plomer and Tom Peete Cross. (Chicago, 1927).

Anthony Briskett's fate at the time of Chichester's plantation is inaccurately stated. Anthony Briskett appears on the list of 1613 as having been "removed" from a holding of 120 acres to another holding of 120 acres elsewhere in the County.[1] Now we know from a report of the Commissioners appointed to examine the Irish abuses in 1613 that this process of "removal" was the cause of much discontent.[2] "This 7th of May last," they say, "the patentees obtained several injunctions to the Sheriff of Wexford to put and continue them in their several portions of lands which the Sheriff accordingly performed, and did break open the doors of such as resisted and turned them out; yet, notwithstanding, upon submission divers of them were permitted to return to their houses again." How long young Anthony Briskett, who presumably is Lodowick's son and heir, remained a witness of these typically Irish scenes, we do not know. His father had described the holding at Macmine in 1582 as "joining upon the Duffry and the Moroghes, and neighboured by very quiet gentlemen of the Caveneghs; but for situation very pleasant, and the soil very fertile."[3] Here he intended "to make proof (God willing) whether the life of a borderer in this land be alike perilous unto all men, and to see if a just and simple honest life may not, even among the most barbarous people of the world, breed security to him that shall live near them or among them." The father's experiment had ended in disaster; but the same spirit of adventure was to lead his son yet further afield. Details we have none, but it seems fairly certain that Anthony, disappointed in his hopes of a comfortable establishment in Ireland, joined the large number of young adventurers who sought their fortune overseas. Anthony Briskett,

[1] *Calendar of State Papers (Ireland)*, 1611-1614, p. 454.

[2] Hickson: *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. ii., p. 274; see also Butler: *Confiscation in Irish History*, p. 68

[3] *Life and Correspondence*, p. 33. The American editors print "Duffey," not "Duffry."

the "removed" Irish landlord of 1613, can hardly be other than Anthony Brisket, the Irish governor of Montserrat, who petitions for a renewal of his patent in 1636.

Our next glimpse of the Irish in the West Indies comes from a letter written from Paris by the Rev. Dermot O'Dwyer, to Luke Wadding, under date October 3, 1642. In Ireland the Catholics had risen against the English colonists, in England the Civil War had begun, and the air was thick with rumours of war and rebellion. Among other items of news that Father O'Dwyer sends from the French capital we read: "It is said at St. Christopher's Island the Irish and English hath great emitions. (sic.)"[1] It is a nice phrase suggesting even more than it states. What was happening indeed in that small island, where English, Irish and French were living in dangerous proximity? Small wonder that the Irish in France had the island in mind. And next year was to show that the French government was no less quick to appreciate the possibilities of the situation.

Among the most treasured documents in the archives of the Irish Jesuits is a letter from Father Matthew O'Hartegan, S.J., written from Paris to the then General of the Society, Father Mutius Vitelleschi, and bearing date March 30, 1643. I give a translation of that part of the letter which concerns our subject:—

Very Reverend Father in Christ

On the 25th of this month Father Jourdain Forestier, procurator of the French provinces at the court, presented me with a petition from twenty thousand Irishmen, who have been compelled by persecution and hardship to go into exile and to establish themselves in the island of St. Christopher and neighbouring localities. M. de Poenry, the commander of the French fleet in those regions, brought this petition, and added his own request that two or more Irishmen of our Society should be appointed to go thither, to guide those who are deprived of their pastors and to strengthen them with the Christian sacraments. I am

[1] Hist. MSS. Commission, *Franciscan MSS.*, p. 197.

sending a copy of the petition to Father William O Malon (Malone) that he may show it to Your Paternity and discuss the means of helping these souls that are in danger. And I myself beseech Your Paternity to consent to send me thither. There is in my favour the fact that I shall soon be resigning the duty imposed on me of settling matters here at the court; my health is strong enough; I am more than usually well acquainted with three languages, French, English and Irish, all of which are used freely in that part of the world; my zeal for souls is, by God's grace, intense, and my will is strongly inclined to that or some similar mission.

Your most reverend Paternity's most
obedient son and servant,
Matthew O Hartegan.[1]

The writer of this remarkable letter is well known in the annals of the Irish Jesuits. Born in St. John's parish, Limerick, he entered the Society at Bordeaux on January 8, 1626, being then between twenty-five and twenty-eight years of age. In a catalogue of the year 1637 he is reported to be on the Irish mission for the good of souls (*in Hibernia ad fructificandum*). Eighteen months before the date of this letter (August 15, 1641) he had been professed of the four solemn vows at Waterford, thus binding himself in a special manner to the sort of work that was to be done at St. Christopher's. During the years 1642 and 1643 he was in Paris as the official agent of the Irish Confederation, and it is to his duties in this connection that he refers in the course of his letter. That his request was pleasing to the Father General is plain from a letter which Father Vitelleschi writes to the Superior of the Irish Mission, Father Robert Nugent, on May 23, 1643. Having mentioned the petition of the Irish exiles in the West Indies, he adds: "Father Matthew O'Hartegan offers himself for that mission with great and praiseworthy fervour." And he ends by consenting that two Fathers should be sent. So for a moment it

[1] I owe my knowledge of this document (which has been inaccurately summarised by Cardinal Moran) and of the biographical details that follow to the kindness of Father John MacErlean, S.J.

looked as though Father O'Hartegan's prayer was to be heard.

But all is not plain sailing when there is question of a voyage to the West Indies. Two months later, on July 20, 1643, Father Vitelleschi writes again to Father Nugent. He has just heard from Propaganda that the mission to the island of St. Christopher's has been entrusted to the Capuchin Fathers of Normandy, and therefore—*ad vitandas discordias*—the same Sacred Congregation has forbidden any Jesuit to set out for the mission. And that was an end of the matter as far as Father O'Hartegan was concerned. Six years later we hear of him at the Jesuit College in Pau. In 1656 he got his chance of missionary activity, for he was one of a party of Jesuits sent in that year to confront the Protestants at Bayonne, and very troublesome the mission proved to be. Finally, on May 2, 1666, we find the notice of his death at the Jesuit College in Poitiers, a typical member of the dispersed Irish Province.

But the dispute between the Jesuits and the Capuchins for control of the mission to St. Christopher's did not remain a secret, and mention is made of it in an important letter from Luke Wadding's nephew Geoffrey Baron, under date August 14, 1643. As the letter throws interesting light on the position in the West Indies at this period of national reorganisation, I make no excuse for quoting it in full, though it has been published already by the Historical MSS. Commission, (*Franciscan MSS.*, p. 243) :—

. . . . There is a particular thing occurred, of which I must give Your Reverence notice, as a thing nearly concerning our country. There is in the island of St. Christopher, in the West Indies, a considerable number of Irish, who give themselves out for 20,000. They have been petitioners for having some Irish Jesuits sent to them, for instructing and continuing them in the Catholic Faith. This, as an overture of consequence for our country, has been certified home to the Council, who think to advantage the kingdom and weaken their enemy, by the oppor-

tunity of that place, and number of the Irish there. Now I understand the Capuchins have procured a decree from the Congregation De Propaganda, that none but Capuchins should be sent thither. And in this I conceive our country wronged, that they should be by order of the Congregation hindered and bound from sending apt men, of whatever several Orders they should think meet and may most advance as well the Catholic Faith, as also their other advantages and lawful ends. If, therefore, you shall think fit to solicit the Congregation for repeal of that decree, I think you will do good service to the Congregation and your country. For certainly the country's ends stand so they must send others, though the Congregation should forbid it.

The dispute between the two Orders was indeed a delicate matter. The Jesuit Fathers had been in Martinique since 1639, the Capuchins in St. Christopher's since about the same period, and the Dominican Fathers were stationed at Guadeloupe. Later these mission fields were modified, as the needs of the islanders grew.[1] The Dominicans, for example, were called to Martinique as well as to Guadeloupe, and the Jesuit Fathers were at work in all three islands. The Capuchins retained their post at St. Christopher's—on French territory—for a considerable period, and we shall find them prominent in the rising that, for a brief moment, left the French and Irish settlers in control of the whole island. But for our present purpose it is sufficient to note that the appeal for an Irish Jesuit Father was not altogether in vain. Seven years after the failure of Father O'Hartegan's generous request, another Limerick Jesuit, Father John Stritch, sailed for St. Christopher's and Montserrat. Of his experiences on this unusual mission to his fellow-countrymen I hope to write in a later article. Here it is sufficient to note that the numbers of Irish Catholics to whom he actually ministered in these two islands—three thousand on St. Christopher's and apparently as many more on Montserrat—show that Geoffrey

[1] For the history of these Missions, see: *Voyages et Travaux des Missionnaires de la Campagnie de Jesus.* Vol. I. *Mission de Cayenne et de la Guiane francaise.* Paris 1857.

Baron was correct in suspecting that the number mentioned in the petition of 1643 was exaggerated. None the less the figures as given in the report of Father Stritch's mission show that the emigration of Irish Catholics to the West Indies had already attained large numbers before ever Cromwell began his policy of forcible deportation.

At first sight so large an emigration abroad may seem improbable to students of Irish history. In the anonymous tract, *Advertisements for Ireland*, which I have already quoted, and which can be dated with certainty to the year 1623, the following interesting description of Irish commerce does not suggest any large connection overseas :[1]

> The native merchants never build any navigable vessel for their own use. Dublin, the head city of that island, cannot challenge property in one ship ; nor all that realm is not able to furnish forth one of their own fit for war, to defend them from the inroads of pirates, which daily coast on their south and west ports. And this proceeds from the sluggishness of the native merchants, who adventure for the most part no further than London for their commodities ; and buy most commonly but the refuse shop ware and sell this in Ireland at an extreme rate, and convey unto London secretly all the ready coin of that land ; and this money here is chested up by some few Londoners that trade with them, so as this land is little advantaged by this secret transport. The Dutchmen export store of coin from thence for their commodities they utter there. There be two or three shopkeepers in Dublin who are said to bring over hither (to London) yearly above £10,000 of money, besides that there is thought that the Irish merchants that frequent Spain bring thither every year as much and more of the Spanish coin to the East Indian Company, of whom they receive a certainty in the pound for the exchange. . . . .
>
> Few merchant strangers resort thither, no foreign factors there reside, by reason of the rare intercourse of traffic betwixt them and the home merchants. The native merchants there bar all the foreign merchants, and likewise the very British from trading there within their town liberties, unless they have their

[1] Extra volume of Royal Soc. of Antiq. of Ireland (1923), p. 24-28.

commodities at their own price. And if they take any lodging or house from the native merchants, they raise their house rents extremely and lay extraordinary town impositions and heavy taxes on them to weary them out ; which discourages all strangers to traffic thither, to the great prejudice of His Majesty and hindrance of the whole realm. . . . .

And for that the wealth and prosperity of most countries doth grow from traffic, especially of islands, and that most princes' of Europe chief revenues rise from thence, it were very convenient in my opinion that every seafaring town of any ability or note in Ireland should be tied to maintain a certain number of ships. and that other of the richer inland towns there should contribute thereto with them.

That was written in 1623, a period when, according to another State Paper of the time, " the whole of Ireland. which had been famous, or rather infamous, during so many years for continual slaughters, attacks of towns, burning of houses, famine, fury, barbarity and poverty. became peaceful through his (the King's) rule, and (what is more surprising) seemed in an instant to rise and flourish in agriculture, fisheries and mines ; to be filled with markets, traders and merchandise, with imports of foreign commodities and exports of native products."[1] Strafford's rule was not planned to encourage commerce at the expense of English trade, and it would be idle to pretend that the large increase in Irish emigration which marks the years of his rule in Ireland was due to any new stimulus to Irish commercial enterprise. Father O'Hartegan points to the true cause when he says in his letter of 1643 that " persecution and hardship " were behind this exodus. A few extracts from contemporary State Papers may help to illustrate the working of this repressive policy.

In June, 1631, Lord Esmonde writes to Lord Dorchester[2] : " Here is reasonable plenty of corn and cattle, but money extreme scant. An infinite number of young

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, (Ireland)*, Dec. 22, 1620.
[2] *ibid.* (Addenda), June, 1631.

idle people in all countries, but more especially in the provinces of Leinster and Connaught, yet do little hurt, and there are slow courses taken to put them to masters and trades or labour, although I in my duty have advertised the State here, and freely delivered my opinion on the fittest course to be taken with them. And doubtless if the idle people, especially those of the mere Irish, be not restrained from their idleness, it is much feared that they will in time trouble the good and peaceable subjects." This is but an echo of the report sent by the Lord Deputy to the Privy Council in 1622. "(We) are also advertised of the excessive numbers in the remote parts (and especially where the late plantations have been made—*i.e.*, in Wexford) of idle, young and active persons who, being unprovided of means to live, are become discontented and eager after alteration and rebellion, and the winter then approaching and the nights growing long and dark, there might be outrages and murders committed upon some of the inhabitants of the plantations."[1]

Another State Paper may be quoted, as it is immediately contemporary with a very curious chapter in the story of Irish emigration. In May, 1631, the great Earl of Cork writes to Lord Dorchester[2]:—

Idleness is the very national disease of this country. Yet the clever and industrious few bear the charge of the idle, so that there are no actual beggars except a few lame men and wretched women and children, who creep into the towns and beg for relief, so as we are not commonly infested with vagabonds and sturdy beggars as that kingdom (England) often is. I have set up two houses of correction in dissolved friaries, in which the beggarly youth are taught trades, and I have imprested £100 to buy wool, flax, hemp and other materials for the purpose. Six months ago an armed band of forty or fifty men went about the counties of Meath and Dublin two of the civillest shires in the Pale, taking meat and drink by persuasion or force, breaking into houses by night and robbing by day. I apprehended a number of them, and executed eleven; the rest were dispersed. The Statute of Henry VIII against beggars should be rigidly enforced here.

[1] *ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1622. [2] *ibid.*, May 6, 1631.

This is an interesting sidelight on the status of the poor inside and outside the Pale. Distress was universal, but apparently the problems of vagrancy and mendicancy were only troublesome in the English Pale.

Irish beggars did not all remain in Ireland in these years of hunger and distress. Professor George O'Brien has drawn my attention to a curious passage in the second part of Thomas Dekker's *Honest Whore*, a play that was first produced in London during the winter season of 1630. One of the minor characters in this play is an Irish footman, by the name of Bryan, whose Irish brogue is reproduced with a fidelity that must have puzzled most of Dekker's audience. Bryan makes his entry in the first scene, which is laid in Italy. After a few unintelligible sentences—for they must have sounded unintelligible at his first appearance—Lodovico interrupts: "Is't not strange that a fellow of his star should be seen here so long in Italy, yet speak so from a Christian?" "An Irishman in Italy! that so strange! why the nation have running heads," retorts Astolfo. And Lodovico: "Nay, this is more strange, I ha' been in France, there's few of them. Marry, England they count a warm chimney corner, and there they swarm like crickets to the crevice of a brewhouse." And so on through a long series of jests at the expense of these Irish vagrants—costermongers, chimneysweeps or footmen, it matters little. Bryan has his part to play in the intrigue that follows, and is finally dismissed by an indignant master. His final words are interesting as an attempt to reproduce the Irish language on London's stage: "A mawhid deer a gra, fare dee well, fare dee well; I will go steal cows again in Ireland."

Plainly Dekker is using some local topic to give colour to his dialogue, and the English State Papers of the period[1] show what he is hitting at. Two years before Dekker's play, the Justices of the Peace for Co. Pembroke write to the Council complaining that "of late great

[1] *Calendar of State Papers* (*Domestic*), under dates given in text.

numbers of Irish poor people have been landed in that country without passes". Being "much pestered and burdened by them," the Justices, who were responsible for the control of all vagrants, report that they have "made stay a bark of ten tons, wherein were carried about 70 of these poor people. They are landed suddenly, and some of them secretly in the night, taking after the rate of 3s. for every passenger." And the Justices end by submitting that "caution should be given to the Lord Deputy to restrain this confluence into this kingdom." That was written on August 28, 1628. On the following October 23, fresh complaints are made. "The owners of barks," they report, "make much gain by transporting them at 3s. a piece for young and old. The reasons they allege for their coming are the last year's dearth of cattle and dearth of corn; yet they carry cattle into this and other countries, and there is a restraint to send corn hence into that kingdom." On January 1, 1629, similar complaints come in from Bristol. "The scarcity of corn in Ireland is such that the poor people of that realm are enforced, for avoiding famine, to come over into this kingdom, and are very offensive in all the western parts." Finally, two months later (March 18, 1629), trouble of the same sort is reported from as far east as Essex. "The country is much troubled with a multiplicity of Irish, men, women and children, beggars, of whom they cannot learn at what port they are landed or the cause of their landing. Not being able to dispose of them to their last place of habitation or birth, they crave direction how they may clear the country of so great grievance."

This last request refers to the directions given in the English Vagrancy Act of 1597—an Act that was to remain fundamental to the English Poor Law for the next two centuries.[1] According to the terms of this Act, the Justices of the Peace, when dealing with "Rogues,

[1] See Webb's *English Local Government: English Poor Law History* (1927). Part I., p. 351 foll.

Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars," are to order them to be "stripped naked from the middle upwards, and openly whipped until his or her body be bloody, and then passed to his or her birthplace or last residence; and in case they know neither, they are to be sent to the House of Correction for a year, unless someone gives them employment sooner." It was from these Houses of Correction—usually erected, like the Earl of Cork's foundations, on the site of some dissolved friary—that English colonial traders with the West Indies drew many of their recruits for the labouring classes of the New World.

Dekker's allusion in the winter of 1630 shows that this influx of Irish beggars into England must have continued for some time, and we can trace the same story in a whole series of English State Papers. In April 1629, for example, we read that the numbers of such immigrants are increasing in Co. Pembroke, where communications with Ireland were peculiarly easy. "Within the last month 300 have been landed hereabouts, for whose passage is paid 5s. a piece. Their ingress cannot be prevented by reason that they land them on rocks and in creeks, and presently return to bring as many more." And on June 11 of the same year we hear that the Justices "have apprehended Edmund Wealsh, master of the Gift, Dublin, who has transported Irish beggars into these parts, and used irreverent speeches of his Majesty . . . He willingly took the Oath of Allegiance, and admits that he landed some company of Irish at Nangle; but denies that he took money for their transportation, and denies also that he said: A pox take the King that owns such a harbour as this is (Milford Haven), and does not fortify it better than it is."

Reports from Ireland show the true cause of all this misery.[1] Writing to Lord Dorchester on February 16, 1630, Lord Esmond says: "The country is in a more wretched state than any I have known in times past. The people are given up to idleness and thieving." On

[1] *Calendar of State Papers* (*Ireland*), under dates given in the text.

December 8 of the same year the Earl of Cork writes also to Lord Dorchester, " urging the poverty of the harvest in Ireland, and begging that no one may be allowed to export corn out of it to England." This was owing to an Order of the Privy Council of the same date that, " after the City of London has brought over 10,000 quarters of corn for their own use, and after 1,000 quarters have been brought over for the use of the navy, it shall be lawful for all men to import corn from Ireland to England under the Lord Treasurer's warrant, and with a guarantee that they will sell only to his Majesty's subjects." The Earl of Cork was a man of great influence, but there is a limit to the influence even of the great. In reply to his report of December 8, the English Government " promise to take notice of the scarcity of corn in Ireland, but order that the license already issued for the relief of London be not the cause of opposition, but shall be speedily executed." That was on December 21st. On January 25 fresh orders to the same effect arrive from England, and on March 29 the Irish Committee of the Privy Council find it necessary to reprove the Lords Justices " for not obeying with alacrity the King's letters, now four months old, ordering the export of corn from Ireland to England. Corn is so scarce in London that there is almost a famine, and this is likely to be followed by an infection. They are strictly enjoined to see that the King's orders are carried out at once."

These were the economic conditions that encouraged both English and Irish emigration to the West Indies. Of the Irish emigrants we know nothing or next to nothing, save a suggestion of their numbers. Of the English emigrants, at least to one island, Barbados, we know more, thanks to the amazingly vivid narrative of an adventurous English artist, who made the journey from London to the West Indies in these years of stress. His account of the life he saw and shared in Barbados is so detailed, and so full of human kindliness, that it may be worth our while to study it at greater length.

CHRONICLE

I—Strzygowski and the Origin of European Art

BY GEORGE J. FURLONG, PH.D.

Asiens bildende Kunst. Von Josef Strzygowski. (Augsburg : Filser. 1929. M. 120).

Die altslavische Kunst. Von Josef Strzygowski. (Augsburg : Filser. 1929. M. 55).

Early Church Art in Northern Europe. By Josef Strzygowski. (London : Batsford. 1929. 21s.).

In each of these three books we find Professor Strzygowski still pursuing his endless quest, the ultimate origin of western art. Though now advanced in years, his hatred of what he terms humanistic prejudice shows no signs of weakening. He is as fierce as ever in his denunciations of those " reactionary " historians of art who persist in maintaining that western art owes its origin to Greece and Rome. This bias against ancient or classical art is the one constant factor in all the evolutions which his theories have undergone. A figure of lonely grandeur, he fights undaunted and single-handed against a world of critics.

Strzygowski was born in 1862 in Biala, near Bulitz, in Silesia, which was then a part of the Austrian Empire. On his mother's side his ancestors had been noble since the time of Karl VI. His father was a manufacturer, and so young Strzygowski passed from the Gymnasium, not to the University, but to a weaving school. On the completion of his technical training he worked for some time as a master-weaver in Greiz. But he soon abandoned the technical arts for the study of the liberal arts in the universities of Vienna, Berlin and Munich. He evidently found his vocation ; for in 1887 he is Privatdozent in Vienna University, in 1892 Assistant Professor in Graz, and in 1909 back again in Vienna as full time Professor. He still lectures in Vienna, and with an enthusiasm and eloquence that always hold, if they do not always convince, his hearers.

Before Strzygowski's time the University of Vienna, like most German Universities, had only one art-history institute ; but as he could not reconcile his views and methods with those of the

Kunsthistorisches Institut under Wichoff, Riegl and Dvorák, a separate institute, with Strzygowski at its head, was established outside the University. Until quite recently students taking their Ph.D. in art-history had to attend lectures in both institutes, and were examined by the Director of each.

Strzygowski's whole academic work and research might be summed up as a series of polemics against what he calls the humanistic misrepresentation of art-history. His thesis is that the Orient, and not Rome, is the source of all development in European art since early Christian times. This thesis he first expounded in his book *Orient oder Rom* (1901). Various volumes, too numerous to mention, followed in rapid succession. It would be impossible, within the limits of this short notice, to trace the many changes which his theories have undergone, or to consider the different centres from Spain in the West to Iran in the East to which he has applied them. It will suffice if we consider briefly his arguments in the controversy with Alois Riegl on the origin of late Roman art. Riegl may be taken as the representative of the Viennese school against which Strzygowski is up in arms. His well-known book *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, which started the controversy, was published in the same year as *Orient oder Rom.*

The problem of the Late Antique is one of the most important in the history of art. The average observer sees in it an art which, after having attained to standards never before and, in some branches, never since reached, declines in the course of a few centuries to what at first seems barbarism. Even to-day one finds it so described in many text-books. And yet this decline occurred without any political or economic catastrophe in the life of the ruling people. How then explain this revolution in art ? The historians of the nineteenth century propounded what seemed to them a simple solution : the representatives of Late Antique culture in the Mediterranean were no longer Greeks and Romans, but a barbarous mixture of Germans and Celts in the West and of Orientals in the East. This, however, is not a solution of the problem, and yet Strzygowski's solution has important points of resemblance with it. According to him Late Roman art is nothing but an Oriental art pure and simple. Those who, like Riegl, see in it a continuation of the Roman Antique are blinded by humanistic prejudice, by their reverence for Mediterranean culture.

Strzygowski would have us believe that the Indo-Germanic Antique in early Christian times was already dead, and that the

whole art of that time was Oriental; for seemingly the Orient alone has the privilege of going on for ever. Therefore the only new element in his attempt to solve the problem is his denial of the existence of any Indo-Germanic influence. For him the art of that time is exclusively Oriental in character. Such a theory is the old hypothesis of barbarisation, limited in its extension but exaggerated in its application; for Strzygowski, like the exponents of the old hypothesis, regards the Late Antique as a period of decadence.

The Late Antique was not a period of decadence, but of new conceptions in art. Down to that time it was a fundamental principle of all art, Oriental and Classical, to reproduce the object in its objective reality, unclouded as far as possible by the subjective vision of the artist; whereas in all subsequent art, from the Middle Ages onwards, the chief concern of the artist is to reproduce in the object seen the subjective moment as well. It was the Late Antique, by breaking down the objective conceptions which had been perfected in Classical Art, that made this radical change possible, and so prepared the way for modern subjectivism. Thus, judging it from the broader standpoint of universal development, we begin to see the Late Antique in its proper prospective as a period of unusual progress and importance —and not of decadence, as Strzygowski would have us believe. Those Oriental elements which are undoubtedly present in it, instead of constituting its guiding tendencies, stand in opposition to them and are, if anything, a lapse back into the earliest Antique from which it is separated by the art of Greece and Rome. They are only of secondary importance in the subsequent development.

In the sub-title to *Early Church Art in Northern Europe* we read: "With special reference to timber construction and decoration." Here we have the keystone of the theory underlying all Strzygowski's work. He maintains that the solution of the origin-problem lies in giving proper consideration to the raw materials used in creating works of art. For him it is the raw material at hand which determines the future development of architecture. Greece and Rome built in stone. That was a durable material, and therefore their monuments have lasted down to our time. The result is that we are blinded by them; they exert an undue influence over us and prevent us from seeing the real origin of our artistic inheritance. According to Strzygowski this is what has happened to the "humanistic" art-historians, and so in the introduction to each new book he exhorts them afresh to see the error of their ways before it is too late.

In the three books under review Strzygowski endeavours to trace the various influences which moulded church architecture in Europe. He does not always confine himself to church architecture alone; but that is the principal theme. Rejecting the Mediterranean basin with its stone traditions, he ascribes the deciding influence to various centres all lying outside the frontiers of the Roman Empire and all working in other materials than stone—*v.g.*, in wood, rough tiles, etc. In *Asiens bildende Kunst* he tries to prove that the kernel from which European art has sprung is not the stone constructions of Greece and Rome, but the wood, tile and tent constructions of Asia. In *Altslavische Kunst*, which is only in part a new book, he returns to his old territory of research, Byzantium and the Near East. His thesis is that the Near East, even in early Christian times, applied its own ideas and methods to church construction; it did not follow Greece and Rome. In *Early Church Art in Northern Europe* we read: "The Romanesque and Gothic styles, like the Greek temple, cannot be understood if we consider only the stone movement and the traditions of Mediterranean art." The various manifestations of the wood movement, in the pre-Romanesque period from the seventh to the eleventh century, are traced from its southern outposts in Croatia to its origin in Norway. We cannot follow Strzygowski in his wild, though at times exhilarating, pursuit of wooden architecture in Russia, Finland, Scandinavia, and England. If he has not delivered us from the Greeks and the Romans, he has at least rendered good service in forcing orthodox art-historians to reconsider their position. There is nothing impossible or fantastic in the theory that medieval art has derived some elements from Nearer Asia and Northern Europe; but Strzygowski, like all enthusiasts for a cause, exaggerates the influence and is thereby guilty of that fault of blindness which he so constantly and so vehemently imputes to his antagonists. He always formulates his theories in the most virile and challenging language, as any one who has heard him lecture will have noticed. This and the dexterous use of catchwords account for a good deal of the publicity which his views have received. But his real claim to consideration is the vast quantity of new Asiatic and North European material which he has introduced into the corpus of art-history.

George J. Furlong.

II—The Church in Scotland, 1603—1660

BY JOHN MACERLEAN, S.J.

The Blairs Papers (1603-1660). By M. V. Hay. London and Edinburgh: Sands. 1929. 12 + 275 pages. 15s. net.

At Blairs College, Aberdeen, the central college for the education of the secular clergy of Scotland, is preserved a large collection of papers dealing with Catholic events in that country from mediæval times down to the nineteenth century. The nucleus of these archives consisted of papers belonging to the diocese of Glasgow which James Beaton, the last Catholic bishop of that see, transferred for safety to France and at his death in 1603 left to the Scotch College at Paris. To these have been added in the course of centuries many documents and letters derived from the colleges conducted by the Scotch Jesuits at Douai and Rome. The story of this collection, its various vicissitudes and the destruction of a most valuable portion of it during the French Revolution is fully told in the introduction to this work. Mr. M. V. Hay, already favourably known to historical students by his book entitled *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, does not pretend to utilize the whole of this vast collection. From some 30,000 letters he selected a few of the earliest bundles, containing some 500 documents dating from 1603 to 1659. In reality the vast bulk of these relate to the period 1649 to 1659, and consist for the most part of letters which passed between the Jesuit superiors of the Scotch houses at Douai, Paris and Rome. These enable us to form an opinion of the trials and difficulties of the Scotch Mission especially during the Cromwellian regime.

In reading the history of Scotland in those times the mind of the Irish student turns naturally to similar events then happening in his own country. The comparison is instructive, for it discloses many points of likeness with just as many differences. The Scotch and the Irish clergy of the sixteenth century may have been little or no better than the clergy of other countries, but there is no sign in either land of any really national desire to break with Christian unity. The so-called reformation in both countries was of foreign inspiration, depended for its introduction on the support of foreign power, and was imposed by violence: in Ireland by martial law, in Scotland, as the saying there was, "By pike and musket." Both countries were racially divided into *Gædhealtacht* and *Galldacht*, a national division that weakened

Catholic organization and enabled the heretics to obtain at the very beginning legislative tolerance or sanction. In both countries the Church lands were a powerful bait to secure the adhesion of world-minded clerics and covetous chieftains, and as the possession of these lands once obtained obliged their owners to continue in their temporizing policy towards the central authority from which alone they derived their title, the Catholic people found themselves suddenly deprived of the support of their natural leaders in Church and State. On the other hand though Ireland for the first fifty years after the reformation was politically divided, and the heretical state could count on the assistance of the Anglo-Irish element, yet this support, disastrous as it was in its effects, was civil and political and not at all religious, and we look in vain for any popular movement in Ireland in favour of heresy, such as the Presbytery and the Covenant in Scotland succeeded in arousing, however violent the means may have been by which that success was obtained. Hence in Ireland the outward conformity of many was almost always insincere, and those who conformed connived not unfrequently at the religion they had basely deserted, whereas in Scotland the temporal advantages gained by outward conformity extinguished all signs of compunction, and the temporizers soon developed into violent opponents of Christian unity.

But the two great differences which distinguish the history of the Catholic Church of Scotland from that of Ireland during this period of persecution, are the disappearance of the secular clergy and a dearth of vocations to the priesthood. This is the conclusion to which Mr. Hay is forced by a study of the documents before him, and his conclusion is confirmed by early authorities whom he does not quote. Shortly after the first onset of Knox and his followers, the secular clergy of Scotland disappear off the scene. Some went over to the heretics, some emigrated to France and did not return, others died off gradually at home and were not replaced. When the Society of Jesus arrived about 1580, the vineyard of the Lord was a *bonum derelictum;* and from that year to 1650 the Jesuits, hardly ever exceeding half-a-dozen in number, were the only priests labouring in Scotland, if we except the occasional visits of a few other priests. The author of *Hiberniæ Vindiciæ*, a work written in violent language against Dempster in 1621, speaking of the unwillingness of Scotch clergymen domiciled abroad to return to the Mission, says :—

> If they are real Catholics, why do they not imitate the English and the Irish, who, not content with being themselves Catholics, desire to make

others the same ? Why do they not oppose their shoulders to the fury of heresy now spreading among their countrymen, and break its power ? Why do they wish to shine abroad, and leave Scotland in darkness ? It is wealth they seek, believe me, not souls. Their priesthood they offer for hire abroad, but do not wish to be priests at home. It is fleeting goods they pursue, not eternal gain.

The same truth is used by Father William Christie, S.J. in 1650 as an argument against imposing an oath on the students of the Scotch College, Rome, binding them not to enter a religious order :—

If the Princess Rosana (niece of the founder), who hath done so much, were rightly informed and solicited, she could obtain from his Holiness that the oath should be only to be priests, with liberty to be religious or seculars, and that the religious principally hath laboured best, and conserved the Catholic Religion in Scotland, seculars made priests there (in Rome) taking conditions (*i.e.*, paid positions) in France and elsewhere abroad (p. 133).

In Ireland there was no lack of vocations to the priesthood at any time. The majority of those were ordained at home and had, it is true, no great theological training, but this was remedied to some extent by the Jesuit colleges at Lisbon, Salamanca, Seville, Santiago and Rome, and by the secular colleges at Douai, Paris and Toulouse. The missionaries in Ireland were always able to keep these Colleges well supplied with promising students, and in this way every diocese in Ireland could always boast of some secular priests educated to the height of their profession. How different the state of affairs in Scotland. Apart from the children of families under the immediate influence of the few Jesuit missionaries in that country, none seemed drawn to the arduous life of a Catholic priest in those days. The supply of students was small and uncertain. The *Hiberniæ Vindiciæ* of 1621 says there were only six or eight priests in Scotland since the persecution of that Church began, that the Scotch College at Paris "*nullum edit fructum*" and the Scotch College at Douai "*sterile semper fuit et infœcundum.*" Mr. Hay says :—

The Catholic body, as a whole, must bear some of the blame. Owing to slackness and inefficiency in the Scots Colleges abroad, notably in Paris and Madrid, no trained reserves were available at critical moments. The absence of proper support from the Continent made it impossible to take advantage of opportunity when it arrived, and the effort made by Mr. Ballantyne (in 1653) came just a little too late (p. 232).

But there was another cause for the weakness of Catholic effort in Scotland, namely the almost complete neglect of the

Gaedhealtacht, although it was in the Gaelic speaking Highlands the Catholic religion had its most numerous adherents. This aspect of the case is left unnoticed by Mr. Hay, though the results were serious. Nor can the Scotch Jesuits be exonerated from all blame. They belonged as a rule to the Galldacht themselves, and their sphere of activities was confined to the districts where their friends lived; it was natural the majority of the students they sent for further education to the Continent should be chosen from those parts where the missionaries resided and laboured; but this should not have blinded them to the needs of the Church as a whole, yet we look in vain for any effort on their part to secure students from the Highlands and Western Isles. To remedy this defect the General of the Society of Jesus wrote repeatedly to the Superior of the Jesuit Mission in Ireland, especially between 1610 and 1620 and 1652 and 1658, to send missioners to these districts, and the Holy See appealed to the Irish Franciscans to do the same. Both orders complied with the requests made to them, and the missions of the Irish Franciscans continued for many years and succeeded in maintaining the Catholic religion in those parts where it still flourishes. To judge by the *Hiberniae Vindiciæ* these missions got little sympathy from Dempster and company:

> You don't like it to be mentioned that missioners make excursions into Scotland from Ireland and England. Yet nothing is truer; for if England had not supported your Browns and Thomsons and Chrysostoms and other missioners, they would have died in Scotland of starvation. And unless our Irish Franciscans had laboured in these last years in the mountainous parts of Scotland, is there one of you who would have broken bread to those hungering souls? Is there a single one to be found among the whole crowd of students admitted into your Colleges, who knows the language of those parts? Your falsehood is clearly manifested by the repeated interference of the Nuncio of the Apostolic See in Belgium, who has earnestly recommended that province to our Irish Franciscans at Louvain, for, as he says, there is no hope of any help from the Scotch.

Of dissensions between the seculars and Jesuits, such as existed in England at the time, we hear but little, for the simple reason that there was no secular clergy in Scotland. It was the Jesuits, "most of them of noble families," as Mr. Hay admits, "who bore the brunt of the Mission work in Scotland for a hundred years and more after the Reformation" (p. 72). When Cromwell's victory over the Presbytery at Dunbar (3 September, 1650) introduced a spell of toleration for Catholics, some secular priests returned to Scotland, and slight traces of ruffled feelings are discernible; but, as Mr. Hay says, "it would be a mistake to

suppose that the discord between seculars and regulars proved during the Cromwellian period any serious hindrance to the revival of Catholicism in Scotland. Such secret jealousies and petty rivalries as are revealed in private letters, were not allowed to appear on active service. Under the stress of war or persecution, such as the Catholics endured, minor dissensions and differences slip out of sight" (p. 234). A hundred years later, when the agitation against the Society of Jesus was at its height in Europe, John Thomson (1742-92) wrote a history of the Scotch Mission, which was not allowed to be published, but is preserved in manuscript in Blairs College. Mr. Hay says "the violence of the language used about the Jesuits has hardly been surpassed by their bitterest calumniators," and then proceeds :—

> Thomson overlooked the fact that, shortly after the Reformation, the secular clergy were rendered powerless or were driven abroad, and this to some extent through their own lack of energy. When the Jesuits came, they encouraged the Catholics to resistance .... The Jesuits fought with tenacity and resource against unjust laws, and endeavoured to instil some energy into the timid Catholic laity of Scotland. They deserved at the hands of a secular priest eulogy rather than censure, (p. 73).

With all these causes at work—absence of priests, dearth of vocations, neglect of the Gædhealtacht, and the want of zeal on the part of the Scotch clergy abroad who would not return and face persecution at home—it is not to be wondered that the faith pined away and gradually died over the greater part of Scotland. From similar neglect the faith disappeared in Wales at the same time. It is a mistake therefore to think that the Scotch turned their back on the Catholic Church suddenly, once for all. The faith indeed died, but it died slowly, very slowly. Exact statistics are of course unobtainable, but a few calculations may be given here. In 1580 the Catholics were computed to form a half of the population ; about 1600 they are represented as forming a third ; and in 1654 a report forwarded by a Father of the Society in Scotland to the Congregation of Propaganda at Rome enumerates some 150 families among the nobility and gentry who still remained constant, and this must be taken as an understatement owing to the absence of details about the Highlands and Western Isles.

The book is remarkably free from errors. One mistake, however, is so evident that it must be a slip. The Walloons are stated at page 54 to be "The Flemish Jesuits". The Flemish Jesuits formed the province of Flandrobelgica, and the Walloon or French-speaking Jesuits the province of Gallobelgica, to which

Douai belonged. The account given of Mr. Spreule is confusing, and would require further elucidation. Robert Pendrick writing from Rome on 28 September, 1638, to Monsieur Chalmers at Paris says: "Of Mr. Spreull we have as yet no news of his intention I knew before, for an Irish Jesuit his converter is here rector of the Irish College. If he hath mind to be one, the sooner the better" (p. 112). Mr. Hay then tells us that the name of Francis Spreule occurs frequently in the Blairs letters, and that Abbé Macpherson says he was from Galloway and entered the Scots College, Rome, in 1639, leaving it the same year to become a Jesuit. A note then tells how Spreule had been a Presbyterian minister quartered on the Catholic Lord Nithsdale, but "the Jesuit Father John Wilkie, who was chaplain to his Lordship, had many disputes in the matter of religion with Spreul and at last received him into the Church." Now it was Father *Robert* Spreule (1608-88) who entered the Society on 15 August, 1639. Can it be that Fr. Spreule meaning *Father* Spreule has been misread *Francis* Spreule, for a Jesuit Francis Spreule seems to be unknown? Again the rector of the Irish College, Rome, from 1637 to 1644 was the celebrated Father William Malone. There was no Jesuit called John Wilkie. Can John Wilkie be a pseudonym for William Malone? It does not seem to have been employed by him elsewhere, and besides the greater difficulty remains that there does not seem to be the slightest evidence that Father Malone ever lived in Scotland or ever acted as chaplain to Lord Nithsdale. Further research may clear these points up. In conclusion I may say Mr. Hay's work is a valuable contribution to history—learned, accurate and fair.

JOHN MACERLEAN.

REVIEWS

Astronomy and Cosmogony

PROBLEMS OF COSMOGONY AND STELLAR DYNAMICS. By J. H. Jeans, M.A., F.R.S. Cambridge: University Press. 1919. 24s.

ASTRONOMY AND COSMOGONY. By Sir J. H. Jeans, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S. Second Edition. Cambridge: University Press. 1929. 31s. 6d.

THE UNIVERSE AROUND US. By Sir James Jeans, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S. Cambridge: University Press. 1929. 12s. 6d.

THE science of cosmogony is concerned with theories as to the origin and evolution of the material universe and its constituent parts. Such theories obviously depend on the extent of our knowledge of the present state of the universe. In the days when men believed that the earth was a flat disc and that around it revolved a sphere, or a series of spheres, to which the heavenly bodies were attached, a fertile imagination took the place of scientific reasoning and produced the cosmogonical myths of Babylonia and Egypt. Very slowly did man's mind grow out of his childhood's fancies. Though Pythagoras in the 6th century B.C. realised that the earth was a sphere, and Aristarchus of Samos in the 3rd century B.C. taught that it revolved around the sun, such knowledge was soon forgotten and Europe did not reach a like level until the 16th century. Kepler and Newton learnt much about the sun and the planets; but only with the 19th century, through the labours of the Herschels and their successors, came the first real knowledge of the world beyond the solar system. Only then did scientific cosmogony become possible.

For many years past an army of workers in various countries has been accumulating information about the stars at an ever-increasing rate. The vast amount of material to be worked through has made the task of the cosmogonist more difficult. Furthermore, the great progress that has been made in astronomy during the past few decades would have been impossible without the intense specialisation which has been the fashion in this as in other sciences. A result of this specialisation is that not many are to be found who are competent to survey authoritatively a particular department of science. Most workers find that their own researches leave them not much more time and energy than suffices to keep them abreast of what is being done elsewhere

in their own special sub-division. Those are fortunate who are able to keep in touch with progress in cognate branches. It is not surprising then that we have had to wait till now for a full account of the present state of cosmogony.

Sir James Jeans, well-known to students for his treatises on electrical theory and on the dynamical theory of gases, has been working at cosmogony for many years. In 1918, following such great predecessors as Henri Poincaré and Sir G. Darwin, he published in *Problems of Cosmogony and Stellar Dynamics* much important original work. In *Astronomy and Cosmogony* he has given us a complete treatise on the subject. Though considerable mathematical knowledge is needed for a full examination of the various theories discussed, the argument can be followed quite well without it. The fact that the first edition was exhausted in a few months, goes to show that the book has reached a wide audience.

Jeans's latest book, *The Universe Around Us*, is intended for a wider audience still. Of those who are competent to expound a science, only a favoured few have the knack of making that science intelligible to the multitude. This is what Sir James Jeans has done, and done admirably. There may be mortals who have no ear for the music of the spheres (perhaps it is that by dint of incessant pursuit of amusement or too constant absorption in abstractions the faculty has become atrophied), but Sir James Jeans's clear and pleasant style and vivid imagery combine with the intrinsic interest of the story he has to tell to make this book a fascinating one for the normal man.

To gain an adequate idea of that story one must read the book. Nevertheless, a brief account of the main theories expounded by Jeans may help to convey some notion of their extreme interest.

The sun, the planets and their satellites, stars, nebulae, star-clusters are among the objects whose origin is to be explained. It has long been known that the sun is a member of a system of stars known as the Galaxy. The galactic system is shaped rather like a biscuit. The sun is in its central plane, though a considerable distance from the centre of the plane. Looking along that plane, the stars in it appear to us projected on the sky as the Milky Way. The diameter of the galaxy is estimated at 220,000 light-years. Vast as is the galaxy, with a population of stars variously estimated at 30,000 million, or 100,000 million, it forms only a portion of the universe. Quite distinct from it are those interesting objects known as the great nebulae. Lord Rosse's 6-foot reflector, erected at Birr in 1845, revealed for the

first time that many of these are spiral in shape, whence their name of spiral nebulae. Quite a short time ago the distance of only a few of the nearer stars was known. Recent discoveries have made it possible to estimate the distance of the furthest nebulae visible in the world's greatest telescope—the Mount Wilson reflector, with a mirror 100 inches in diameter. Dr. Hubble of Mount Wilson puts the figure at 140 million light-years. Even the nearest spiral nebula is 850,000 light-years distant, consequently far beyond the confines of the galactic system.

The spiral nebulae, though somewhat smaller than the galaxy, are comparable with it in size and mass. With the 100-in. telescope about two million of these " island-universes " can be seen. The term was used by Sir Wm. Herschel, though in his day they appeared to be merely masses of gas. Nowadays many of them are seen to consist largely of clouds of stars. It is supposed that the nebulae were originally vast rotating masses of gas. Jeans has investigated mathematically what would happen to such masses of gas in the course of time, and has found that at intervals condensations would form in the gas, these condensations being of about the mass of the stars that we know. Jeans has further examined theoretically what would be the subsequent history of the stars thus formed, and has accounted satisfactorily for various types of stellar phenomena known to astronomers—binary stars, multiple stars, star clusters of different types. Binary stars are systems of two stars revolving around one another, formed in some cases by the splitting up of a star. Sometimes the components themselves split up, giving rise to multiple stars. It is interesting to note that many of the familiar constellations are not mere fortuitous arrangements, but organised bodies of stars moving together and known as open clusters ; the Pleiades and the Great Bear and Orion's Belt are of this type. Globular clusters are very beautiful objects in a telescope, but are indistinguishable to the naked eye.

It is probable that the stars of our galaxy were formed in this way. How was the solar system formed ? Astronomers are agreed that the planets and their satellites once formed part of the sun, but the manner in which they were separated from it is still a matter of controversy. The most likely explanation is that a star passed close enough to the sun to tear out from it by gravitational attraction a long gaseous filament which in time split up into segments. These segments eventually liquefied and solidified into the planets. The satellites of the planets were probably separated from the parent bodies in a similar way, being

torn out from the planets by the sun's attraction. The chances of two stars approaching sufficiently close to produce a catastrophe of this kind are exceedingly remote, so that Jeans calculates that in all probability hardly one star in a million has an attendant retinue of planets.

How were the great nebulae, the parents of the stars, themselves born ? It seems natural to suppose that originally there was a continuous mass of gas diffused through the universe. Jeans has shown that in time condensations would be set up in this gas, and he has calculated that the mass of the gaseous nebulae thus formed would be of the order of magnitude of the great nebulae. This would complete the chain of evolution from a primal gaseous mass to nebulae, from nebulae to stars, from stars to planets.

How long did this process of evolution take ? There are various ways of attacking this problem. The age of the earth can be estimated by geological and other methods at some 2,000 million years. This gives an idea of the vast aeons with which cosmogony has to deal. Incidentally it gave rise to a long-standing problem which Jeans has done a good deal to solve. The sun has been steadily pouring out great stores of energy in the form of light and heat all the time that the earth has been in existence. Scientists were puzzled to explain why the energy in the sun was not exhausted long ago. Lord Kelvin pointed out that, if the sun be supposed to be contracting, its gravitational energy would be transformed into heat energy. He calculated that the maximum of heat energy that could be obtained in this way would keep the sun radiating at its present rate for only 25 million years. Yet the earth is supposed to be 2,000 million years old, and the sun does not yet show signs of being burnt out. The discovery of the properties of radioactive atoms lessened, but did not solve the difficulty. The problem is complicated by the fact that in past ages it is pretty certain that the sun radiated heat and light at a greater rate than it does at present. Matters become still worse when we take into account the estimates that have been made of the ages of the stars. Various lines of research combine to indicate that several million million years have elapsed since the sun and other stars were born from the parent nebulae. The question is, how do the stars replenish their energy so as to enable them to radiate for all that time ? Why have they not become exhausted, extinct ?

Jeans suggested many years ago that this stellar energy might be obtained from the annihilation of atoms. It is known

that when a body radiates energy it loses mass, but the concept of the complete transformation of matter into energy goes a stage further. Jeans supposes that this transformation is not caused by the high temperatures in the interior of the stars, but that certain atoms annihilate themselves spontaneously. No such atoms are known on earth, though partial disintegration takes place spontaneously in the radioactive atoms. The suicidal atoms are supposed to be slightly heavier than the heaviest of the terrestrial ones, and to have sunk to the centre of the stars. Since the planets were formed from the outer regions of the sun, this would explain why such atoms are not to be found on earth. Jeans has calculated that this source is ample to account for the energy emitted by the stars. The theory has gradually gained ground among astronomers. It is indeed the only one so far propounded that provides a satisfactory solution of the problem.

What can be predicted about the future of the universe? The solar system, as it was called into being by a passing star, may be disrupted in a like manner; or the sun may change in type and radiate only a fraction of its present light and heat. Neither catastrophe is in the least likely to happen for many million years to come. One thing certain is that the universe as a whole is gradually dying. The conclusion drawn from thermodynamics that the available energy in the universe is continually decreasing and will finally vanish, leaving a dead world, is in nowise invalidated by recent discoveries in physics. Such a state is by no means easy to envisage, but science has found no way of escaping that conclusion.

What of the very beginning? We have reasoned back to a primal nebula. How did that begin to be? Science has no answer to that question. It is interesting to note that on purely scientific grounds Jeans concludes that matter cannot have been in existence for ever and that it is not infinite in extent. Why then does he not postulate a Primal Cause, a Personal God? His reasoning has led him to the bounds of the universe in time and space. There his work, the work of the scientist, ends. What is beyond space and time is the work of the philosopher. Certainly these volumes of Sir James Jeans have great apologetic value, though they were not written with that object in view. The reader will often murmur with the Psalmist: "The heavens show forth the glory of God, and the firmament declareth the work of His hands."

D. O'C.

Biography

THE ROLL OF THE HOUSE OF LACY. Pedigrees, Military Memoirs, and Synoptical History; with Notices of Allied Families and a Memoir of the Brownes (of Camas). Collected and Compiled by De Lacy Bellingari. Baltimore: Waverly Press; London: Bailliere Tindall. 1928. Pp. viii. + 419. 42s.

This very readable volume of Family Antiquities and Records opens with a candid declaration that it deviates from its original intention, which was to be a critical and more elaborate work. It expresses the author's hope that it will evoke further family materials, lead to the discovery of unpublished documents, and enable him to prepare a fuller work at a later time. For this purpose it is excellently fitted: rather, it is much more than a starting-point, and much more thorough and critical than its writer avows. He describes himself, even on his title page, as merely a collector and compiler. He is much more; and even if at times the purely personal aspects, elements of friendship, association, emotional appeal and affirmation leap out among the firmer historical and antiquarian matter of these well-presented chapters and sections, they do not substantially oust the claims of this pioneer volume to attention and even to careful study.

The good and clear plan adopted enables the use of this ample mass of historical and local materials to be made under favourable and even attractive conditions. The Continent is covered from Dunkirk to Belgrade, and even on other longer trajectories, as from Spain to Further Russia, with attractive ease. There is fair provision for the studies of the de Lacy name from its origins at Lassy in Normandy down to its entry into Ireland with the first Plantagenet aggressions. These are well known to readers of Irish History: and here they are developed and reset among numerous valuable facts and illustrations of the de Lacy strongholds at Bruff and Ballygrenan and Bruree, as well as at Trim and at Carrickfergus.

There is an exceedingly useful analysis, fully detailed, of how the confiscations, and especially the Cromwellian confiscations, affected the fortunes of that great Norman Irish and almost entirely Catholic clan; and the story is greatly to its credit. Two notable Bishops of the name, Ulick (1557-1581) and Robert (1738-1759), served God in Ireland well in dark days: so did many Parish Priests also, whose lives and work are faithfully

recorded here. Equally fine is the record of patriotic action in the field. Sir Pierse de Lacy stood by James and Gerald of Desmond to the very end, to November 11, 1583, at Glenageenta. "A horseman of great accompt, Pierse Lacy, an arch-rebel of Munster," as Fynes Morison calls him, was prominent in 1601. Mountjoy writes to Cecil of his death, since he was "the most dangerous rebell in Mounster, and the most likely to have renewed the rebellion." Again, Sir John de Lacy of Bruff was out on the side of Catholic Ireland in 1641; and the Colonel Pierse de Lacy who was a leader in the defence of Limerick against Ireton, 1651, was again a leader in his old age on the same ramparts, in 1691. Still more: de Lacy Bellingari shows how the line of valiant men of the clan, within Ireland, by no means ended then. Witness Tipperary in 1918 and after.

Central and Western Europe, no less than the Americas, yield many a gallant line of soldiers, from privates of the line to field-marshals more than one or two. There is no space to enter on these most attractive careers in this short notice. It will suffice to refer to the proofs that the fighting line continues and renews its puissant youth in these early decades of the twentieth century. Between pages 232 and 233 of this most commendable piece of historical investigation, the author inserts two most striking portraits of younger officers. One has to turn to pages 268-271 to find the record of them and of their distinguished line since it left Ireland less than two centuries ago. They are Colonel Count Terence O'Brien de Lacy, born at Grodno, Poland, in 1885, now commanding Polish cavalry at Bialystock, and Major-General Count Patrick O'Brien de Lacy, in charge of the Pioneer Regiments at Warsaw, born just forty-one years ago. His son, Hugh O'Brien de Lacy, is also named. No more need be said. The book is full of things of good value to us in Ireland.

T. C.

JOSÉ ANTONIO PÁEZ. By R. B. Cunninghame Graham. London: Heinemann. 1929. 15s. net.

In Páez Mr. Cunninghame Graham found a subject appropriate for his special gifts as a writer, both as regards the region where his life was spent and the incidents that made up that life. A long list of books dealing with various aspects of Spanish America stands to Mr. Graham's name, and in general they show that their subject-matter is suited to bring out his literary quality. A

prominent place among his works must be assigned to his *A Vanished Arcadia*, in which he describes with keen sympathy the remarkable attempt in social reconstruction carried out in Paraguay by the Jesuits.

South American history is instinct with material that is calculated to call forth the best qualities in a writer of romantic vein—and this, assuredly, Mr. Cunninghame Graham possesses in a high degree. The life of Páez gives just the right scope for his power of vivid and sympathetic writing, for Páez was endowed in no small measure with that personal magnetism which all national heroes must possess, and this quality shows in clear relief in Mr. Graham's life-like pages. His repute does not stand out so clear as that of Bolivar—the greatest figure in American history—but he was certainly his superior in those personal qualities that make a man lovable as a human being as well as a national hero.

His memoirs, written late in life, when he had acquired an education and a *savoir vivre* which experience of life can best give, may be unreliable as a record of his private thoughts and motives, as all such literary ventures are necessarily to a certain degree ; but they show him in no unfavourable light, either as a human being or as a politician. He was an advocate of the emancipation of the negro from pure human sympathy, not from any academic political theory. And after filling the highest offices in the region to whose freedom he had contributed so largely he died in exile and in poverty, and his memoirs are singularly free from the bitterness that one would naturally expect to find in the circumstances.

As a soldier—a participant in the rough actuality of war, not a behind-the-lines commander—he was a remarkable figure. To him was due the accession of the *llaneros* to the republican cause, and it is hard to over-estimate the value of the services rendered by those wild horsemen to the cause to which he was the chief instrument in attaching them. The record of his achievements, as it comes from his biographer's sympathetic pen, reads like a page from the old romance writers, but it is alive, as such pages not always are, with the spirit of actuality.

All his life he preserved the simplicity of character that was natural to one of his upbringing ; and his portrait, as drawn by Mr. Graham, presents a man of attractive personal character as well as a man of really heroic mould—a genuine figure of romance.

W. J. W.

PIONEERS OF CHRISTENDOM. By W. E. Brown. Volume I. Bishops. London: Sands. 1929. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Brown's previous volume on *The Achievement of the Middle Ages* will not soon be forgotten by those who have had the good fortune to read it. In it a very clear thinker and competent scholar has given us a fresh and most stimulating account of what he believes to be the true greatness of mediaeval society. And in this second little volume—for the volume is small in format and contains no more than 270 pages—Mr. Brown studies the same problem from a more personal aspect. What manner of men were they who built up the Europe that we find by the end of the tenth century? Were they saints, aided supernaturally in their work? Or were they men of genius, solving the problems of their age as statesmen solve their problems to-day? In answer to that question, Mr. Brown prints at the head of his volume a text from the Wise Man which the Church has chosen as the fitting expression of God's watchfulness over the labours of the just man. Yet in the body of the book it is essentially on the natural qualities of these great men that Mr. Brown loves to insist: on Ambrose's Roman gift of administration and loyalty to Roman tradition; on the simple straightforward charity and thorough-going Christianity of St. Martin; on Boniface's amazingly persevering courage. Only five pioneers have been included in the list; Ambrose, Martin, Wilfrid, Boniface, Dunstan. Every reader will want to add to a list that Mr. Brown himself admits to be arbitrary in its selection. That three of the five should be Englishmen is surely lack of proportion in a tale that is essentially Catholic; and one name at least, Gregory the Great, ought not to have been omitted. But these brief biographies are so good, so manly in tone and so sane in judgment, that it were ungracious to be critical; and we end with a word of thanks, not only to the author who has shown how careful scholarship can be plain to the man in the street, but also to the publisher, who has not been afraid to publish within twelve months two valuable works of serious Catholic historical criticism. That is an example that others might well follow.

A. G.

Celtica

BEATHA ÍOSA CRÍOST. Atá curtha i n-eagar as na Ceithre Soiscéil agus aistrighthe ón nGréigis ag Pádraig Ó Baoighealláin agus Pádraig de Brún. Foillsigheadh é ag Colm Ó Lochlainn. 1929. A luach — sé sgilling.

This book must be considered as an important contribution to modern Irish literature. The Holy Scriptures have always played an important part in the standardisation of languages. It might then be expected that a work of this nature, appearing at a time when the question of the standardising of Irish is occupying much attention, would be likely to have a serious effect on the solution of this difficult question. Furthermore, the importance of the book is greatly increased by the fact that the exegetical portion of it is the work of no less distinguished and erudite a scholar than Canon Boylan. There is, therefore, no need to say anything about this part of the work.

Our chief concern, then, will be the language of the translation, and here we are confronted with a problem which I, for one, cannot solve. What position has the translator taken in regard to the nature of the language which he proposes to use in his translation ? It cannot be said that he has taken the dialect of West Kerry as his medium of expression. On the other hand, it cannot be said that he has attempted to write a classical style, free from dialect. Neither can it be said that he has taken the greatest common measure of the living dialects and used in each case the form most common among these. Indeed it is extremely difficult to understand what rule, if any, he has followed in selecting—as he often does—in one case a classical form, in another a purely dialectic one.

One might take as an example the so-called irregular verbs. The translator's rule with regard to these seems to be, to preserve in each case the classical form. The specifically absolute and dependent forms are carefully preserved. But this rigid classicism of his may be said to apply only to these particular verbs. Thus, side by side with the classical conjugation of " do-bheir " and " do-gheibhim," such dialect forms of verbs as the following are used : do tharraingigheadar, loirgigheas, rángóchaidh, tárlachtaint, do thoibh (=do thogh), guidheachtaint. Again, one would wish that the translator's respect for literary forms in other places had extended to the writing of " dá mba " instead of the dialectic (and otherwise unjustifiable) " dá ba." The same could be said of the eclipsis of the noun after the prepositions " do " and " de "

in composition with the article, which, of course, is not only quite rare in the literature, but is confined in modern spoken Irish to a very small area. Our point is that it is inconsistent to draw liberally from the literature in some matters, while dialectic forms (in the narrowest sense of the word) are allowed, forms which are confined to a very small geographical area and which have no historical or traditional justification. No exception would be taken to these in a dialectic novel, but in a book of this kind, where a literary standard is sought after, such inconsistency is difficult to justify. A consistent use of the literature as a guide would have prevented the translator from writing the impossible and unhistorical "tobhadh" for the literary and common form "togha" to choose. The word is written "tobhadh" presumably because the past tense of this verb in the particular dialect is "do thoibh." Such a use of the literature would have spared us the surfeit of verbs in —(u)ighim which is a distinct defect of style in the book, and would have provided more graceful substitutes for the inartistic "do tharraingigheadar," "tuiltidheacha" and "go h-áthastamhail". In many ways the language at the disposal of the translator would have been more rich and effective. As examples, one might mention the inflexions of nouns and the use of the subjunctive mood in the protasis of conditional sentences.

The artificiality which has governed the selection of forms, is also evident in the style itself. There can be no doubt that, whatever its merit in other matters may be, the present translation often lacks the simplicity and direct appeal of Canon O'Leary's version. In fact, one would get the impression that the translator fights shy of the simple and obvious. His effort after dignity of expression is defeated by his strange mixture of classic and dialectic. In the Gospels of Canon O'Leary, written, as they are in the ordinary speech of the people of Mid-Cork (with, of course, a literary dressing), we find simplicity and directness. On the other hand, this translation, as a result of its peculiar composition, is often stilted and not seldom lacking in clarity and smoothness.

By the way, the little word "ithe" (to eat) has fared particularly badly. It is really sad to have to relate, that, after having escaped successfully for over a thousand years, it has at last been captured and dressed up as a perfectly normal and respectable verbal noun in —adh! This, however, is only a small point. There are more important ones; in many cases, exception might well be taken to the idiom. We cannot, however, go more fully into this at present.

In the course of this review we have been chiefly concerned with the shortcomings of the work. If any reader should think that we have been one-sided in our criticism, our answer is that the good qualities of a work bearing on its title-page the names of two so distinguished scholars do not need to be praised. That the book will make a wide appeal we have no doubt, and we only regret that its appeal cannot be as universal as it might otherwise have been. As a storehouse of idiomatic expression, its value to students of the language should not be underestimated.

F. S.

LORCÁN NAOMHTHA UA TUATHAIL. An t-Ath. Benedicht do sgríobh. Ó Fallamhain. 1929.

Is tearc leabhar d'á bhfuil ann fé láthair i n-Gaedhilg atá oiriúnach do'n choitchiantacht mar leabhar spioradálta. Is ion-mholta, d'á bhrí sin, an obair atá 'á dhéanamh ag an Ath. Benedicht, mar atá, leabhair d'a leithéid do chur ar fáil do lucht léighte na Gaedhilge. Tá beatha Lorcáin curtha síos sa leabhar so go deas so-léighte. Leabhar iseadh é a bhéas an-oiriúnach do lucht léighte na Gaedhilge san am atá ann.

Tá trácht sa leabhar ar cheisteanna achranacha i dtaobh na neithe abhí ar siubhal le linn aimsire Lorcáin. Uaireanta bíonn de locht ar an gcur síos, nach mbíonn sé go ró-shoiléir. Is iontuigthe, áfach, an méid sin agus a doiléire atá a lán d'á bhaineann le stair na h-Éireann fé'n am san. Uaireanta, leis, bíonn teilgean na cainnte go casta do thuigse.

Tá dearmhadacha sa leabhar annso is annsúd, nuair a bhíonn an t-údar ag trácht ar rudaí a bhaineas le stair na h-Éireann. Ar leathanach 1. adeir sé: "Tar éis bháis Bhriaim Boramha, do cuireadh sean-reacht tánaisteachta na nGaedheal ar gcúl." Dearmhad an-choitchain é sin a mheas gur sean-reacht Gaedheal an tánaisteacht. Féach MacNeill. Phases of Irish History l. 295. "There is no mention of a tanist in the Annals until the thirteenth century, etc." Ar leathanach 2–3, tá sé ráidhte: "Ó aimsir ghabháltais na Normánach i leith, áfach, níorbh é amháin gur cuireadh stad agus lán-chosg le dul-chun-cinn na nGaedheal, ach do fágadh comh mór sin ar deire iad nach ndearnadar aon ní i bhfuirm litríochta ná scoláireachta, ar feadh trí chéad blian, arbh fhiú trácht air i gcomórtas leis an árd-shaothar a bhí déanta aca roimhe sin." Ní gá ach amháin sgoileanna na bhfile do lúa chun a theasbáint nach fíor ar aon chor an abairt sin. Ní dheineann an t-údar an finnsgéal do dheighilt go minic ón bhfíor-stair.

Is ait linn a léigheamh cúnntas ar " an Cloigtheach mór maordha, deich dtroighthe a's céad ar aoirde, do tógadh do Chaoimhghin le láimh an Ghobbáin Saoir " !

Tá locht ar an leabhar so atá go ro-choitchían ar leabhraibh Gaedhilge fé láthair. Tá, nách bhfuil aon chaighdeán leitrithe ann. Mar shomplaí de sin, tá le fáil sa leabhar so, taobh le taobh : breágh, breá ; tighearna, tíarna ; dlighe, dlí ; cosamhail, cosúil ; naomhtha, naofa ; beannuighthe, beannuithe ; saoghal, saol ; aimhdheoin, ainneoin ; claoidhfidhe, caillfí.

Rud eile, tá " manaigh liatha " go coitchian sa litríocht ar mhanachaibh Úird Naoimh Bearnaird. B'fhearr go mór an ainm sin ná " Cistersínigh."

F. S.

Classics

ANNA COMNENA. A Study. By Georgina Buckler. Oxford : University Press. London : Milford. 25s. net

This is the third book in English on Anna Comnena within two years, and all three are by women, so that the very learned, pious, and dutiful princess may be said to have come into her own. Mrs. Buckler's work is the most scholarly and complete English commentary so far published on any Byzantine author. It should prove exceedingly useful to all students of mediaeval history ; for the " Alexiad " is a very important source, among other things, for the history of the First Crusade, and throws much interesting light, from a novel point of view, on the general history of Western Europe during the late eleventh and early twelfth century.

Mrs. Buckler's method is to devote a series of detailed chapters, seventy-five in all, to the various aspects of Anna's personality, character, education, and work, including in the last division her subject-matter, language, and style. If any criticism be justified of so highly meritorious a piece of work, it is perhaps that Anna's own personality hardly bears the weight of the accumulated learning bestowed on it, and that the chapters which deal with her subject-matter lose somewhat from being so strictly in the nature of a commentary rather than the independent survey which Mrs. Buckler is so clearly fitted to write. In annotating Anna's long and rather solemn panegyrical account of her father's vicissitudes, Mrs. Buckler hardly leaves any aspect of Byzantine life untouched ; art, religion, education, war, politics, language, are

all studied in considerable detail, always with reference to the royal authoress who, one cannot help feeling sometimes, is not altogether an adequate peg to hang so much upon.

To mention a few of the innumerable interesting topics with which Mrs. Buckler finds occasion to deal,we have a summary of different views on mediaeval punishment, particularly mutilation, a chapter on general education in Anna's day, another on Byzantine art and science as reflected in her History, one on Byzantine historiography, sections on finance and law, on the relations of the Eastern Empire with the Papacy, on the various heresies with which Alexius, whom his daughter calls " the thirteenth apostle," struggled, on the Byzantine Army and Fleet, and on the relations between the Empire and its contemporary states : Seljuks, Northern Barbarians, the " Reges " of Germany, and the Franks in general. Last of all comes a most readable study of Anna's language, style, vocabulary, use of metaphors and proverbs, and a useful bibliography.

Perhaps the chief drawback about the *Alexiad* is that its manner is too heroic, its subject not quite heroic enough. Alexius I. Comnenus, who reigned from 1081 to 1118, was indeed an able and successful ruler. Coming to the throne by a military revolution, he had to deal with a terrible heritage of incompetence and treachery. Ten years earlier, the wealthiest half of the Empire had been thrown open to the inroads of the Turks by the disaster of Manzikert ; and all through his reign Alexius had to struggle against enemies from East, North, and West, each more formidable than the other, as well as to face a series of plots among his own subjects. He was probably the ablest ruler of his time in Europe, but his ability was rather diplomatic than military : he won no resounding victories, but he foiled and outwitted one enemy after another, including the Crusaders, who regarded him as a monument of treachery. Mrs. Buckler likens him fittingly to an acrobat dancing on eggs. To his daughter, on the other hand, he was a universal hero, great warrior and paladin as well as great statesman and theologian ; and as she described his deeds in a dead language full of bombast, which had almost lost the art of calling anything by its own name, it is hardly to be wondered at that Gibbon found her tiresome. Mrs. Buckler puts up a good case in her defence, enough at any rate to show that those who surmount the serious obstacles presented by her solemnity and her style will not be without their real reward.

M. T.

GREEK LYRIC METRE. By George Thomson. Cambridge: University Press. 1929. 12s. 6d. net.

THE student of Greek who reads only English is very much handicapped in the study of the lyrics which make up so important a part of Greek literature, for want of a convenient handbook on the difficult and uncertain question of metres. The older editions, such as Jebb's of Sophocles and Bacchylides, though often containing a vast amount of information, suffer from the defect that most of it is now generally recognised to be wrong. Indeed in this respect Jebb was out of date even when he wrote, and English scholarship has always tended to lag behind German. Schmidt's *Rhythmik und Metrik* was the English editor's Bible on this subject long years after it had been superseded by Blass, Wilamowitz, and Schroeder. There are only two modern English handbooks of real utility, and both have defects. John Williams White's excellent and exhaustive treatise on the verse of Aristophanes, while of great value on many general problems, is limited to its own subject, and Hardie's *Res Metrica* suffers from a rather absurdly English tendency to defend the indefensible just because it is old.

Most students nowadays probably rely on Schroeder's very convenient *Cantica* in their reading of the Tragedians. Mr. Thomson gives us a further English handbook, which will at once take its place beside White and Hardie. Like them, however, for all its utility, it will be found to have limitations. Mr. Thomson's main object is to expand the teaching of the late Walter Headlam, which was set forth briefly in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1902. Headlam's interest lay principally in the study of rhythmical design and in the significance of transition between one rhythm and another. Mr. Thomson has developed his treatment of these subjects and has added a doctrine derived from his own teacher, Mr. J. T. Sheppard, of "significant form": a doctrine by which metres are supposed to express feelings and to depict actions, as they sometimes undoubtedly do. This doctrine needs, however, to be kept within careful limits; and sometimes Mr. Thomson seems to risk the accusation levelled by Wilamowitz against Dissen, that he can "hear the grass growing".

Tribute is paid in the Preface of the book to the work of Wilamowitz and Schroeder, but in the rest of it Mr. Thomson has scant heed for the results of that work. This is unfortunate, because it makes his many excellent ideas less useful to the ordinary student. The difference is very largely one of terminology. Mr. Thomson, for example, keeps the idea of "ictus" without assigning

any importance to it; and his definitions of "Aeolian," "Glyconic," "Dochmiac," "Paeonic," to mention only a few outstanding cases, differ totally from the definitions now usually accepted. Thus it comes about that he can scan a Sapphic verse as Epitrite *plus* Pherecratic, and a Stesichorean "paroemiac" as the same elements in the reverse order. Too much importance may be attached perhaps to mere terminology; but metre, which is purely conventional, depends on terminology to a very great degree. Many of these aberrant definitions are used by Mr. Thomson at a later stage to illustrate his theory of significant rhythm. His book contains elaborate analyses of Pindar's *First Olympian Ode*, of the *Suppliants*, the *Prometheus*, and the *Orestia* of Aeschylus, and of many single lyrics. This in itself will give it value to the student, who will also find it easy and pleasant to read.

M. T.

Education

THE SISTERS OF MERCY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1843-1928. By Sr. M. E. Herron, Ph.D. New York: Macmillan. 1929. Pp. xvii. + 434. $5.00

In some 380 pages, this orderly and quietly-impressive volume records, diocese by diocese all over the United States, the circumstances of all the foundations made in that vast area by the Sisters of Mercy, daughters of Catherine McAuley and of her Institute as founded in 1827 at Lower Baggot Street, Dublin. It was in 1843, and from the Convent of Carlow, that Mother Francis Xavier Warde, with five other nuns and one postulant, left Ireland for Pittsburgh. This Centenary Record is dedicated to the memory of that "woman of high romance and of spiritual adventure"; she was also much more than these words imply, and this record of achievement and progressive development, all over the United States, is well worthy of study by all who concern themselves with modern History, American and Irish.

Mother Warde and her associates, being a society of religious women living in community and devoted to charitable works, were the beneficiaries of An Act to Incorporate the Sisters of Mercy made by the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania on April 8, 1848; a legal benefit and security that is not yet attainable in Ireland. Things were not always as placid as this Act of the Quaker State indicates. There was a succession of bitter manifestations of anti-Catholic prejudice, always directed against

nuns and their work, as in Little Rock, Arkansas; Hartford, Connecticut; San Francisco itself; in Maine; in New Hampshire, and elsewhere. The full record of work in universities, secondary schools, elementary or common schools, and many useful incidental details, can here be read of, diocese by diocese, house by house: the volume is essentially a volume of Annals. In due time, no doubt, a synthesis of these efforts, over the whole Continent, grouped under their appropriate main heads and ideas, will be presented. It will be very welcome: and all the more welcome, if full details are given as to educational methods and their evolution.

For such a sequel to these Annals the Appendices here given, covering twenty pages, will be a valuable basis. They list 64 central houses, and their branches, with a total of 8,749 nuns; 541 Parochial Schools, with 166,207 pupils; 69 Secondary Schools, with 13,269 pupils; 7 University Institutes, with 936 students; 92 Hospitals, with 230,551 patients within one year; 76 Orphanages and Homes, sheltering 9,012 of Christ's little ones. A great record presented with clearness and simple dignity.

T. C.

STANDARD-BEARERS. Catholic Sisters and the Origins of Education in the United States. By Sister Maria Alma. New York: 1928. P. J. Kenedy and Sons. Pp. 236.

Prepared for presentation as a Doctorate Thesis in 1924, this unpretentious volume is of distinct and permanent value. It collects the *data* available, all over the United States, as to the educational activities of *all* Orders of Nuns in the Catholic Church, down to the origins of the Knownothing Movement, 1850. For each area treated, there is also given an account, often necessarily meagre enough, of State and Federal legislation for the establishment of schools, down to the same year. What is given here must have cost great labour; and under both heads it will yield its fullest return when the main results are presented synthetically for the whole United States, treated not diocese by diocese, but in a few large and historically-unified regions. Even within the history of the American Republic, the Catholic Parochial School has almost always preceded, by a long time indeed, any effective creation of State Schools. This historical lesson is of great significance, and this excellent piece of research fully illustrates and emphasises it.

T. C.

Fiction

THE STORMY HILLS. By Daniel Corkery. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1929. 7s. 6d.

In this new volume of stories Mr. Corkery remains true to the subtle tradition he himself created in *A Munster Twilight.* The word "realism" has been so much abused (both in the literal and the vituperative sense) by critics of modern Irish fiction, that one hesitates to incriminate Mr. Corkery by using it in connection with his book. Yet there is no other word that can do the book justice. Here is a writer, one feels, who knows his Cork and Kerry countryside so well and has put himself so completely into the life of its people that not merely are his pictures of it vivid, his dialogue skilfully and restrainedly shot through with Gaelic idiom as is in real life the speech of the people he portrays, but the very incidents that form the plots of his stories seem to be born of those stern hard hillsides and remote uneventful valleys. An old farmer is torn in two between his hunger for the new big farm and his clinging to the old starved one, which held, however, a Mass-rock within its boundaries. A family of strange wild fishermen risk life and limb to save their boat, and having lost it, abuse it as "a stump of a boat slapped together," lest their neighbours should think they felt its loss. Two shipwrecked sailors are in terror at the haunting of the eyes of their dead ship-mates. Such are the subtle, uncommon incidents around which Mr. Corkery weaves his stories, and one feels that they are more in harmony with the remote, slow-moving, deep-thinking world of *The Stormy Hills* than more strikingly dramatic themes would be.

Yet I would venture a criticism that may seem almost contradictory of what has gone before. Six years ago Mr. Ernest Boyd wrote a vigorous defence of Mr. Corkery's work, at the opening of which he said that "those who cultivate literary plots will be rebuffed by Corkery's indifference to . . . . the requirements of 'a good story'." He then went on to defend the very tenuousness —or shall we say delicacy—of Mr. Corkery's plots on much the same grounds as I have done. With all that one cannot help wondering whether Mr. Corkery might not succeed just as well if he cultivated the dramatic a little more. Nor would this be a betrayal of his genius. It must be granted that Mr. Corkery's curious rare psychological situations and his groupings of incidents that are dramatic only in a delicate degree are very much akin to the rather featureless "plots" of real existence. One may admire also the skill with which he steers along the line that

divides that delicately dramatic of realism from that featurelessness of the real. But for all that, what is even Mr. Corkery's realism but a convention, as far away from the real as printed words are from spoken speech and men of flesh and blood. To cultivate the dramatic then (I am using the word "dramatic" perhaps somewhat loosely to express the quality of the more elaborately constructed and crudely coloured plot), would be but to try his hand at another form of artistry, less rare perhaps, but capable of great treatment.

But if that delicacy of theme be one of the great qualities of Mr. Corkery's realism, why abandon it? Simply because the more robust type of plot appeals to an incomparably wider circle of readers. And if it should be objected that this is equivalent to giving a writer the polite advice to "give the public what it wants," I have a two-fold justification, first that I think that Mr. Corkery could do it without prejudice to his genius, and second, that Mr. Corkery is a writer whom I should like to see the public reading more of.

A special word of praise must be added for the jacket of this novel, a landscape by Paul Henry, in ragged browns and purples.

F. McG.

History

THE RISE AND FALL OF NEW FRANCE. By George M. Wrong. Two volumes. Macmillan. 1928. 42s.

Ever since the days of Herodotus history has been first and foremost the narrative of human adventure, and the historian is but a sorry master of his craft if he cannot tell a story well. Mr Wrong has the narrator's art, and from the first chapters of these two volumes he has the reader under his spell. For his is essentially a story of human adventure in far distant lands, and—like a wise man—he makes no attempt at prefacing his tale with long digressions into geography or anthropology or any other form of scientific learning. It is with the magic name of Marco Polo that he starts, and from this tale of wellnigh incredible adventure in the romantic East he leads us on, through Portuguese attempts to reach the goal of Cathay, to the great deeds of Christopher Columbus and Magellan and the rest, and so to Cabot and Cartier and Europe's first glimpse of the Canadian lakes and forests. There for a moment this story of New France is interrupted to let the reader catch a glimpse of what Drake and Hawkins and

the rest of England's sea-captains are doing further South: a chapter that ends rightly with the honoured name of Hakluyt. And so back once again to Canada: this time to the true founder of New France and Drake's great rival, Samuel Champlain, worthy pioneer in a land where heroes were to be plentiful, none more heroic than the sons of France.

Of the long story that follows only certain outstanding incidents can be noticed here. Mr. Wrong tells the tale of the Jesuit Mission to the Hurons in full detail and with evident sympathy. None the less, his criticisms of Jesuit policy in Canada are of value for their fair-minded statement of a real difficulty. Here, as in Paraguay, it was the purpose of the Jesuits to organise their hard-won converts in colonies apart from the life of the great French trading centres, and at first the French Government under men like the great *Intendant* Jean Talon are in agreement with their general plan. But Talon is succeeded by Frontenac, who is eager to found new forts and stations in the interior. From the point of view of French colonial policy, Frontenac's wisdom is plain. It was indeed a main fault in the French system that they were too easily content with their establishments at Montreal and Quebec, and made little or no attempt to occupy the interior. In New England it was different. There the Puritan colonists, with far less support from the home government, fought their way inch by inch inland from their strip of coastal territory, and what they won they held. In France the *coureur de bois*, ever eager for fresh adventure, passed from one Indian village to another on his quest for furs, but left no permanent trace of his passage. As a result, when New England and New France drift slowly to the inevitable war of conquest, the English population numbered two millions, whilst France could count no more than a hundred thousand settlers on lands that stretched—in theory at least—from the mouth of the Mississippi to the mouth of the St. Lawrence. She was content to hold a few strategic points.

Yet what an amazing record it is, this tale of French pioneer work in North America. Brébeuf and Jogues and Marquette are names familiar to all Catholic readers. But we hear less of men like Champlain himself, who opened up Huronia to the Jesuits, and La Salle, the amazing continuer of Marquette's work along the Mississippi, and La Vérendrye, the explorer of the Saskatchewan River, and the Sieur de Niverville, leader of the first party to reach the Rocky Mountains. That was in 1751, a date that suggests the France of Voltaire and Louis XV. rather

than the spirit of so intrepid a pioneer. But France was well served to the end, in spite of endless quarrels among the governors and continued neglect by a home government that had lost the sense of colonial empire. Mr. Wrong's tale closes fitly with two heroic figures: Wolfe and Montcalm, the heroes of Quebec. But the tale of that last struggle between French and English is marred by one sordid episode, the pitiful tale of French Acadia. Mr. Wrong does his best to explain away so sore a blot on English policy, but his sympathies are plainly with the simple Acadian peasant folk. Indeed it would seem to have been the fortune of French Canada to give to the world the spectacle of a society that is astonishingly natural in its virility. Acadia as we see it at the moment of the great expulsions is not more attractive than the picture of feudal Canada under Talon and Frontenac, with the authority of the *grands seigneurs* mitigated by the sturdy independence of *habitants*, most of whom were sprung from Norman stock. And to-day it is the same. French Canada is, and always has been, an old-fashioned land. In 1908, so Mr. Wrong notes in his chapter on Canadian feudalism, there were still some three hundred families that had been in continuous occupation of their land for more than two centuries. And there are districts in the province of Quebec where men still sing folk-songs that tell the tale of King Francis I., a captive in Spain, or the love affairs of Henri IV. Most of these songs come from Normandy and the valley of the Loire, and they are, as is the very speech of the French Canadian, a lasting witness to the origin of a people who have had a past as romantic and as attractive as any people on God's earth. A. G.

HISTOIRE DE L'AMÉRIQUE ESPAGNOLE. Par Jean Toussaint Bertrand. Two vols. Paris: Éditions Spes. 1929. 60 fr.

LIBERTY AND DESPOTISM IN SPANISH AMERICA. By Cecil Jane. Oxford: Clarendon Press; London: Milford. 1929. 10s. net.

The recent books on Spain show that there is a reviving interest in the history of a country which once almost dominated the world. The new books show in addition that a new spirit is coming to be applied to historical judgments, tending to overthrow the rather facile verdicts of older historians.

A very interesting example of this newer spirit is presented in

these two books—one by a French, the other by an English writer. The viewpoint of both writers is much the same. They consider their subject with sympathy and with understanding of the forces that contributed to make the history of the vast regions, once Spanish, what it was.

M. Bertrand has special qualifications to fit him for this work. He is a good exemplar of Latin civilisation, and he is a Catholic. Now these are qualities that must be possessed by a writer who essays to reveal the soul of Spanish America. All that she is is the resultant of the two forces, Latin and Catholic, and without a sympathy with them no picture of her development, no explanation of her history, can be complete.

M. Bertrand's book is a good specimen of history written for purposes of information. Its plan is admirable from the scholastic point of view. The power of compression, combined with clearness of presentation, makes it an admirable handbook, in which is unfolded a wonderful and fascinating story. The great names, both regional and personal, of Spanish history, are presented to one's imagination and to one's understanding with a special force. As one reads one can live through the vivid scenes which the historian portrays—without the slightest feeling that the portrait is drawn for any other effect than the presentation of the simple truth.

Mr. Jane's book is an essay in history from the angle of racial psychology. He finds in the Spanish character certain predominant psychological factors, and he endeavours to trace their working in the course of the historical evolution of the Spanish American colonies. He writes with sympathy, but one feels that he does not always prove his thesis. There is too pronounced a tendency to speak of racial characteristics as if they were belonging to all the members of a people. In what real sense can we say that such ideals as Mr. Jane postulates as distinctly Spanish—efficiency and liberty—were held, let us say, by the *llaneros* whom Páez led to victory ? The field in which such forces are supposed to work is too vast and too subject to the play of innumerable other forces to be explained in this easy fashion.

Mr. Jane's book is, all the same, a very interesting study in the philosophy of politics, and it will repay study by those interested in finding out the hidden causes of the overt phenomena of political action.

W. J. W.

THE GUILDS OF DUBLIN. By John J. Webb, M.A., LL.D. Dublin: Printed and published at the Sign of the Three Candles. 1929. 12s. 6d. net.

THIS book should prove of equal interest to the historian and to the student of social economics. A study of the ancient guilds of Dublin, such as Dr. Webb has given us, may well inflict a blow on the pride which we feel in modern systems, and make us feel that, after all, the past can teach us some lessons. The Guild system did not confine itself exclusively to considering the interests of employers or employés, producers or consumers, but was framed by those who understood, as modern trade unionists have scarcely yet come to do, the interdependence of these classes. Regulations as to length of hours, rate of wages, the age at which apprenticeship could be begun, the restriction on the employment of foreign labour were balanced by a system of inspection of the quality of the work, prohibition of abandoning or delaying to finish a task once undertaken, and an insistence on a long period of apprenticeship, followed by a test of skill, before a member was admitted to a Guild. At the same time the purchasing public was protected from extortion or cheating on the part of the trades by a fixed price being laid down for, at least, the most essential commodities.

The first reference to the Dublin Guilds is contained in Prince John's Charter of 1192. In 1226 we find a list of 224 members of the Merchant Guild. In this there are no native Irish names, but later lists show a few, such as Neill, Kelly, etc.

This Merchant Guild was the parent body, and at first included in its membership persons exercising many different occupations, as importers, manufacturers, or small retailers. Later, these latter classes established Craft Guilds, and the Merchant Guild came to consist only of those properly to be described as merchants. It employed official buyers, who purchased in large quantities from those who brought supplies to the city by land or sea, and then sold at a fixed price to the Guild members according to the needs of each; thus protecting the interests of the small trader, and preventing any "cornering" of a commodity.

Most of the Guilds admitted women to membership, and some trades, as that of brewing, were very largely in their hands.

In the earlier centuries the Guilds had a religious aspect. They employed chaplains to celebrate Masses for the welfare of the living members and for the repose of the souls of the deceased brethren. After the Reformation, Catholics began to be excluded

from membership, and Dr. Webb regards this as one of the chief causes of the gradual decay of the system as the eighteenth century advanced.

M. T. H.

FREEMASONRY AND THE ANTICHRISTIAN MOVEMENT. By E. Cahill, S.J., Professor of Church History and Social Science, Milltown Park, Dublin. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1929. Pp. xxiii. + 186. 5s. net.

This well-produced volume is especially valuable as containing an ordered series of modern documents issued by the Holy See concerning Freemasons and their various lines of antichristian action. Had it appeared a few weeks later, the author would have been able to add to the prescriptions inserted by Pope Benedict XV (1917) into the new Code of Canon Law, the impressive remarks recently addressed by Pope Pius XI to the representatives of Catholic Poland, pilgrims to Rome in this momentous year, 1929. The gravity and instant urgency of that public warning against Masonic activities in their country would serve to modify Father Cahill's rather non-committal views (p.172, note) on the effects of the rise of Poland and the development of the League of Nations at Geneva. Both Poland and Geneva are now well known to be highly organised centres of Masonic action, operating from France and penetrating into all the activities, mercantile and intellectual alike, on both of these important European fronts.

Again, had the author the advantage of observing in the London *Times* of November 16, 1929 (page 14, cols. 1, 2) the obituary notice of Lord Blythswood, "prominent Scottish Freemason," he would have had an illuminating instance to adduce of how regional systems of Freemasonry may even disclaim sympathy and relationship with each other, and still maintain by a thoroughly discreet yet effective system of personal interactions, a perfect *liaison* system. Lord Blythswood (Archibald Douglas Campbell) "took *a conspicuous part* in Freemasonry as Grand Master Mason of Scotland, and holding high place in the Grand Lodge of England and Ireland, he devoted," says *The Times*, "*much time to the affairs of the order.*" This *liaison* system has, indeed, been a main instrument of Masonry in Ireland since 1800. It operated to unite all the non-Catholic and foreign, as well as non-Catholic and local, education societies working in Ireland, 1800 to 1850 and later, in combined attacks on the Catholic education of Catholic children within Ireland. From 1830 onwards it organised on the Mixed Education front, con-

centrating since 1914 on the children of mercantile and professional families in our cities. At the same time—as in France and in Poland at present—it controls the highly important lines of industrial and commercial development, is active in placing contracts, and functions as a most successful exchange of early business information—obtained, more often than is suspected, from confidential and official sources. Since 1923 it has increased these Irish activities both on the educational and on the financial fronts.

We hope that the zealous author of this significant volume will be able to devote time in the near future to a thorough scientific analysis of these modern activities of Masonry in Ireland. His present work does not enter on this ground, but it will be found serviceable as bringing together and developing the earlier writings, not available in book or pamphlet form as yet, of such authorities as T. H. Burbage (1917), D. Fahey (1928), and their very effective forerunner, T. A. Finlay, whose series of articles entitled " Our Brothers the Masons " (*The Lyceum*, June-October, 1892) would be well worth revision and reprinting. C. T. T.

DEUTSCHE GESCHICHTE IM NEUNZEHNTEN JAHRHUNDERT. Von Franz Schnabel. Erster Band. Die Grundlagen. Freiburg: Herder. 1929. M. 16 (cloth); 13.50 (paper).

The publishers claim that this history of modern Germany, which is planned to be complete in three volumes, is the first attempt since Treitschke's effort of fifty years ago to tell in consecutive narrative, but with due regard to underlying principles of thought and feeling, the story of all that has gone to the development of the modern German state. Fifty years ago: the date is significant. Treitschke lives in the memory of Europe as the official apologist of Prussianised Germany; few would care to accept his verdicts to-day. Yet Prussia remains the true centre of German activity, though German thought and German art have often found a home elsewhere. And it is to the explanation of that astonishing revival of German national life and vigour which marks the era of Napoleonic conquest that most of this introductory volume is devoted. Stein and Scharnhorst and Gneisenau and Hardenberg, Wilhelm von Humboldt and Niebuhr: these remain, and must remain, the great names of the national revival. But side by side with them are the yet greater names of Germany's *Aufklärung*: Goethe and Schiller, Leibniz, Herder, Kant and Fichte, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. The very

names suggest a vitality of life and thought that has few parallels in human history.

To the non-German reader the most interesting chapters of this volume are those in which Herr Schnabel strives to analyse the forces that have gone to create the modern German spirit as opposed to the modern German state. His account of the contrast between the classical Empire of Napoleon and the romantic movement that inspired so much of the German national resistance in 1814, shows the debt that modern Germany owes to the mediæval and Catholic Rhineland, motherland of so much song and folklore, rich in so many memories of a glorious past. Yet the generation of Görres and Schlegel and Brentano and Arndt is even more markedly the generation of Goethe and Beethoven, the two supremely self-sufficing artists of the modern world, so proudly egoist in their claim to personal autonomy that they repel or attract with almost equal power. And Kant's philosophy is already at work, restating the intellectual life and the moral duties of man in terms that destroy the old mediæval conception of a life essentially social in its fabric, resting on authority and tradition rather than on the satisfaction of individual conscience.

Herr Schnabel is not an easy writer to read, and his narrative makes heavy going at the best of times. But there is no denying his conscientious thoroughness, nor the earnestness with which he has striven to think out for himself the deeper problems of European life as a whole, and of modern German life in particular. His very plan reveals an anxiety to break away from the outlook of Treitschke, with his excessive admiration for the Prussian state. For Schnabel the continuity of European life and thought from the Middle Ages to our own day is too valuable a factor to be ignored, and his history gains in truthfulness by this more real perspective. How far he will do justice to the very varied forces that have been at work in the creation of modern Germany, is a question that must await an answer when his three volumes have appeared. But this first volume reveals, if not a master in the difficult art of historical composition, at least a competent and learned critic who is determined, so far as in him lies, to see his subject as a whole, and whose mental equipment places him in sympathy, not merely with a national philosophy that has become increasingly rationalist and pagan, but also with the older life of a Germany that once was the centre of the Catholic world. The enigma of Germany's future even Herr Schnabel cannot hope to solve.

A. G.

Philosophy

THE IDEA OF VALUE. By John Laird, M.A. Cambridge: University Press. 1929. 18s. net.

THIS book, the publishers tell us, " is an attempt to examine the conceptions of value, goodness and excellence, particularly aesthetic, economic and moral values." It is fashionable now-a-days to speak about moral ' values,' and to bracket them univocally with aesthetic and economic ones. In the old scholasticism the meaning of certain very elementary words like ' good ' and ' bad,' ' right ' and ' wrong,' was far too clear, too carefully cut and dried, to suit modern requirements. The result is the selection, in recent times, of a thoroughly ambiguous and intangible word, ' value,' to throw a fog over those remains of traditional ethics which sparkled too brightly in common speech.

It would hardly be fair, even were it possible here, to put Professor Laird's book on a sort of scholastic dissecting-table. It has many good points, and its faults are not so much the faults of its author as of contemporary philosophy in general.

Thus Professor Laird makes a great show of defining the word ' value ' with the aid of dictionaries in several languages. Unfortunately he delves no deeper than the dictionary into its meaning, and is quite content to philosophize for 375 pages upon a word whose precise sense he has never successfully determined for himself or his readers. This is by far the most serious defect in a work on the " Idea of Value." On arriving at p. 322 we are told that " . . . it should not be at all surprising if the attempt to bring precision into the idea of value should end with a less extensive but more acute ambiguity." Perhaps not. But it should, I think, be surprising that the completed process of bringing a less extensive but more acute ambiguity into the idea of value should cost the public 18s. net.

In his Introduction the author had " in the main " identified value with ' good.' " To say that beauty is, or has ' good ' is identical with saying that beauty has value ; and to say that love is the greatest good is also to say that it is the greatest ' value '." (p. xvii.). This would present some hope of clarity were it not that the author, having rejected Aristotle's definition of ' good ' (p. 132), is quite unable to substitute one of his own. Hence his equation of value to ' good ' is nugatory.

In broad outline, however, Professor Laird's philosophy is sounder than his arguments. God, the human soul, the " value "

of moral rectitude, have for him an objective significance. The few thrusts through the chinks of Kant's armour-plate (p. 288 *sqq.*) will also be relished by lovers of common sense. And modern foibles are not forgotten :—

> It is not true . . . that sin is goodish conduct from which saintliness is merely absent ; or that pain is rather agreeable although not superlatively so ; or that ugliness is rather pretty although less beautiful than beauty. On the contrary, sin and virtue, ugliness and beauty, pain and pleasure are *opposites* in their several scales, not different degrees of the same quality. And fineness or nobility are the polar opposites of what is contemptible and vile (p. 258).

This is salutary medicine to a certain type of " philosophy " in which *to be* and *not to be* are much the same thing.

The historical aspect of the subject from the seventeenth century onwards is given considerable prominence. The views of Spinoza, Hobbes, Schopenhauer, Leibnitz, Locke, of the " British Moralists " (Hume, Price, Reid, etc.), and later of Descartes, Malebranche and Kant, are analysed in some detail from the author's standpoint.

When all is said, however, this standpoint remains elusive and shadowy in the extreme. So far as any theory of value is personal to Professor Laird, it seems to be a combination of the " timological " theory with a principle which he has called the Principle of Natural Election (the " s " being thoughtfully left in Darwin's possession as a souvenir). But the author is far too nervous of being " dogmatic " to present us with a clearly defined position. The non-committal statement is reduced to a fine art. Thus : " It is *possible* (italics mine) that our pleasure in reading Shakespeare differs in quality from a duck's pleasure in diving into weeds . . ." (p. 160), but the author is not quite sure whether it does or not. On another equally grave issue he is " content to suggest to the reader that it is at least highly disputable whether certain beauties may not be strictly non-mental " (p. 230). This safety-first method becomes rather tiresome, and leaves the reader at the end very much where he was at the beginning. P. H.

LES PRINCIPES DE LA PHILOSOPHIE THOMISTE. La Critique de la Connaissance. Par Joseph de Tonquédec. Paris : Beauchesne. 1929. Pp. xxx.+565. 40 fr.

This work arose out of courses of lectures given by the author over several years to groups of students desiring an explanation of the leading tenets of the Thomistic philosophy. The present volume covers the ground of part of those courses, and deals with

what the text-books call Logica Critica. A promise is given of further volumes dealing with the more central doctrines of St. Thomas. It is to be hoped that this promise will be fulfilled.

The aim of the book is to expound the essential principles, not to give a complete presentation of details. Many topics usually treated at length in works on Criteriology are not here expressly dealt with, *e.g.*, the question of the certainty of facts of consciousness, the different states of the mind in regard to truth, etc. The questions treated are discussed with great thoroughness, and the greatest care is taken to make the doctrine perfectly clear. Although intended as an introduction, the book will be welcome also to advanced students. With the help of the continual references to texts, they will find it a very useful guide to the study of St. Thomas. It is clearly the work of one who has mastered the doctrine of St. Thomas and made it completely his own.

The long preface of 30 pages, which is the only part of the book that is at all tedious, reveals that the author does not see eye to eye with all the Neo-Scholastic developments. He takes great pains to distinguish his point of view from that of other types of work dealing with St. Thomas. Some of these take the purely historical point of view ; philosophical systems are to them so many beautiful intellectual edifices, which they examine like artists, without showing preference for one rather than another. Others present less the views of St. Thomas himself than those of this or that school of commentators : " Ce n'est pas cette foule qui a eu du génie, c'est saint Thomas ". Some writers glean out certain of his doctrines, mingle them with their own views, and label the result " Thomistic." Some regard as unessential any features of his system that have no bearing on Ethics or Theology. Others, again, approach St. Thomas with philosophical views already formed, and try to fit his doctrines into the framework of these, seeking to adapt his system rather than assimilate and expound it. The author's aim is different from all these. He will expound the doctrines as held by St. Thomas, justify them as a living system, and demonstrate their solidity and truth.

It is only possible in this short notice to outline briefly the contents of the book. First, the nature of knowledge is explained as an apprehension of reality. The Thomistic view is clarified by comparison with other theories, which would make knowledge essentially a generation, a construction, a fusion of objective and subjective factors, etc. The view is shown to be essentially realist and at the same time to involve a certain relativism.

The nature of sense-knowledge is next treated, with lengthy discussion of such questions as the nature of the *species impressa*, the kind of activity involved in sensation, the nature of sense illusion. The validity of St. Thomas's views is defended, and difficulties arising from modern developments are discussed.

In the chapter on ideas the central importance of abstraction in the Thomistic system is brought out. St. Thomas's subtle analysis of the intellectual knowledge of singulars is well explained, without special discussion of any opposing views. Various misunderstandings of the doctrine of universals are pointed out; and some attempts to modify the doctrine in the direction of Nominalism are condemned.

Two admirable chapters on judgment and on the question of truth follow. A large portion of the book is devoted to the treatment of Inference. The chapters on immediate propositions and on definitions are worked out very minutely. The discussions on induction and on the syllogism make an impression of thinness, perhaps because in English works on Logic such questions are treated with much greater fulness. J. SHINE.

Poetry

ARROWS OF DESIRE. By James M. Hayes. New York: Kenedy. 1929. Pp. 75.

A RIME OF THE ROOD AND OTHER POEMS. By Charles L. O'Donnell. New York and London: Longmans. 1928. 7s. 6d. net.

BROWN EARTH AND GREEN. By Michael Walsh. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1929 1s. net.

IN spite of the fulsome eulogies printed on their dust covers, these two American books of lyrics are well worth reading. Their authors have the virtues of the best American poets: they treat of momentuous things and significant experiences; they are technically accomplished and fastidious in their choice of models. But this very reliance upon models is apt to lead the poet into mistaking a reincarnation of the experience of another poet for a poetical impulse native to himself. The two poets under review do indeed convey their own experiences, but with so inadequate a passion sometimes as to suggest that their impulse to expression is somewhat deliberate, perhaps derived.

Mr. Hayes's stately verse moves, as it were, under full-bellying sail, but with such a light breeze of passion is it uncharitable to suspect a little bellows behind the sail? This is not to say that

there is not genuine poetry in his work. Fr. O'Donnell sees clearly the poignancy of the simple statement, and his beautiful title-poem should be long loved not only by Catholics. Yet here too the mediaevalism of this poem's style (like the very modernity of others of his poems) suggests a contrived simplicity rather than the utterance of a passion too intense to brook the bonds of silence. In those poems (and they are not few) in which they forget all that they have ever read and surrender themselves wholly to the sway of the inward counsellor, both these poets, in their different ways, strike the true lyrical note.

Mr. Walsh's little book gives us a chance to compare the work of Irish poets in America with that of a presumably untravelled Irishman. The result is an interesting antithesis ; for Mr. Walsh's impulse is always wholly his own, but his subjects are sometimes trivial and his poetical experiences, however genuine, are at times insignificant or trite. He has in fact the qualities, good and bad, of the born but unsophisticated poet. But there is no doubt about his promise. He is at present, with Ledwidge and Mr. Higgins, in the tradition of the poets of the Irish countryside. But there is a tendency (in *To Mona* among other poems) not merely faithfully to convey his experiences, but to analyze and embroider them, that may lead him, if he perseveres, to the company of even greater poets. A. L.

THE CATTLEDRIVE IN CONNAUGHT. By Austin Clarke. London : Allen and Unwin. 1928. 5s.

PILGRIMAGE AND OTHER POEMS. By Austin Clarke. London : Allen and Unwin. 1929. 3s. 6d.

The Vengance of Fionn was certainly a higher achievement than anything written by Keats at so young an age. It was a magical re-creation of external beauty illuminated and vitalized by no feigned passion. It only needed the quality of insight, the power of making the external pageant significant of a momentous human experience, to admit Mr. Clarke into the *penetralia* of great poets into which at last Keats found glorious entrance. We waited long and vainly for this quality in his later books, though its maturing seemed almost inevitable with the maturing of a knowledge of men. Mr. Clarke's vision remained external, never stirred us to consciousness of the fundamentals of our human life. He advanced indeed as a craftsman. The first of the two books under review, which develops and applies to lyric the rhythmical devices already discernible in *The Vengeance of Fionn*, has evidently been

a source of technical inspiration even to Mr. F. R. Higgins, whose book was recently reviewed in *Studies*. But advance in prosody is small compensation for failure to advance in essential poetry; it is the baby that matters, not the perambulator.

It is a relief then to find in *Pilgrimage* a distinctly critical attitude of the poet towards his subject-matter. Obviously Mr. Clarke no longer believes that one can make a poem out of a mere "welter of life," a concatenation of external incidents. He chooses such circumstances in each poem as together reveal human nature in one particular aspect. He co-ordinates the various scenes of a story so as to make the whole communicative of a single experience or of a single flash of insight of his own. For this reason *The Young Woman of Beare* is perhaps the most memorable thing he has written; one leaves it with one's sense of humanity permanently enhanced. We welcome the evidence that a poet who has in him the stuff of immortality is devoting himself at last more to the creation of essential poetry than to the invention of barren technical devices. Mr. Clarke is already a Debussy of literature, but we expect more of him presently.

Nevertheless, though he aims at this co-ordination, Mr. Clarke cannot be said as yet to succeed in achieving it; and this leaves us yet to make our most grievous complaint. There are two or three passages of frank sensuality in the book. In a work like *Antony and Cleopatra*, where all the circumstances converge to the evocation of a special state of mind in the reader, sensuous details which really tend to this result may be justified, because no mind healthy and fit to read poetry will dwell on them for their own sake. But where the circumstances of a narrative are more loosely inter-related, as in Mr. Clarke's work, each one produces its natural effect independently on the mind. Objectively these passages are wrong both morally and artistically, and this is all the more to be regretted because there is ample evidence in the book that Mr. Clarke's intentions were wholly praiseworthy.

A. L.

Politics

THE DEFENSOR PACIS OF MARSILIUS OF PADUA. Edited by C. W. Previté-Orton, M.A. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1928. 35s. net.

A CRITICAL edition of the *Defensor Pacis*, under the able editorship of Mr. C. W. Previté-Orton, will be a boon to students. The older forms of the book had become relatively inaccessible. Mr. Previté-Orton has given us a text based upon a complete study

of the surviving MSS., and as perfect as his fine scholarship can make it.

The *Defensor Pacis* has had a curious history. Its condemnation as heretical, while it is responsible for the rarity of medieval manuscript copies, helped to make the book popular in later times. The peculiar character of its attack upon the papacy secured for it much uncritical attention during the period of the Reformation. It was studied by Machiavelli and had some influence on Calvin and Hus. Modern scholars may be said to have dipped into it; but as few of them were sufficiently familiar with contemporary medieval literature, their conclusions must be received with caution.

Contemporary external evidence proves that the work is of composite authorship. But no satisfactory division of the parts due to Marsilius of Padua and to John of Jandun has so far been made. Mr. Previté Orton is of opinion that the influence of John of Jandun "is more pervasive than local". John, as we know, was an Averroist, and the use made of Aristotle's *Politics* in the first "Dictio" of the *Defensor Pacis* is quite analogous to the interpretation of Aristotle's metaphysical and psychological doctrines by the Averroist school in the University of Paris.

Marsilius, a native of Padua, was probably born between 1275 and 1280. He seems to have qualified in medicine before 1311, practised for a while at Padua, and finally made his way to Paris. He was rector of the University of Paris from December, 1312, to March, 1313. Pope John XXII, on the 14th October, 1316. collated a Marsilius dei Mainardini to a canonry in Padua cathedral, and on the 5th April, 1318, reserved the first vacant benefice in the diocese of Padua in Marsilius' favour. The identification of this Marsilius with the author of the *Defensor Pacis* is rejected by the weighty authority of Denifle. If correct, Marsilius, like his friend John of Jandun, seems to have been peculiarly ungrateful for papal favours. Mr. Previté-Orton dates the conception of the *Defensor Pacis*, "an anti-clerical ideal of a republic only native then to North Italy," to the residence of Marsilius with Can Grande della Scala at Verona and his sojourn later with Matteo Visconti at Milan. Marsilius probably returned to Paris, and finished the *Defensor Pacis* on 24th June, 1324. Early in 1326 Marsilius and John fled to Germany to the court of Lewis IV at Nuremberg. Marsilius accompanied Lewis on his journey to Rome, and received from the emperor several empty honours. The remainder of his life is obscure. He was not given up by

Lewis, on the emperor's reconciliation with Rome, and by the 10th April, 1343, he was known to be dead.

Long before the time of Marsilius the arguments for and against the papal claim to exercise jurisdiction in temporal affairs had been worked out. And the speculative interest of the *Defensor Pacis* will naturally lie in the original contribution, if any, which it may be supposed to have brought to that prolonged controversy. The arguments *pro* and *con* fall under the three heads of scripture, tradition and reason. While Marsilius repeats the stereotyped arguments, his position is more or less novel. Under the head of scripture it is least so. He simply denies altogether the mystical interpretation of scripture upon which several of the arguments were founded. This line had been already taken by previous writers in connection with particular texts, but by no one in so sweeping a way as by Marsilius. The strength of the papal position lay in tradition. Here too Marsilius is drastic. He denies absolutely the validity of the whole argument from tradition. But as this position would have had no plausibility at the time, he is forced to devote a great deal of space to an elaborate consideration of the traditional argument. This is the ablest and most lucid part of the *Defensor*.

For the modern reader, however, the interest of the book will lie rather in the first "Dictio," in which Marsilius develops his curious theory of state-absolutism. Such a theory lay ready to his hands in the *Politics* of Aristotle. Marsilius selects from Aristotle such theories as suit his main purpose. In the detailed working out of his ideal state he is much influenced by the particular problems engaging the Italian city-states in the early fourteenth century. There is a tendency—in which Mr. Previté-Orton shares—to exaggerate this latter influence, and to ascribe to it opinions commonly held at the time and in no way peculiar to Marsilius. The placing of ultimate political power in the hands of the adult male citizens seems to Mr. Previté-Orton "a strange provision for 1320". In fact it was quite a usual theory at the time. Nor is it necessarily "a pronounced democracy" in the modern sense. The superiority of an elected executive over one merely hereditary, for which Marsilius argues elaborately, is also a usual view, and was maintained by so orthodox a writer as St. Bonaventure. That the "*pars sacerdotalis*," the priestly order, should be absolutely subordinate to the rulers of the secular state is an opinion peculiar to Marsilius. But even this theory had been held in a more limited way by previous writers. It would be of great interest to know the effect produced by the writings of

Marsilius on contemporary theologians. Probably it was very slight. The strength of the papal position—a point which is commonly overlooked—lay, not in the occasional polemical works of the pamphleteers, but in the great theological tradition.

D. O. K.

RELIGION UND POLITIK. Ein religions- und kulturwissenschaftliches Studie. Von Johann Peter Steffes. Freiburg: Herder. 1929. Pp. 227. 7s. 6d.

DR. STEFFES' book might be called an elaboration of the thesis that the Church has an indirect, but not a direct legislative authority over the State, though his canvas is, in fact, somewhat more extensive. He is concerned with the influence, possible, historical and actual, of religion in its broadest sense on politics. His book is divided into five sections, and begins with a short (but very abstruse) statement of the importance of this problem for the present generation. Then the author proceeds to discuss its historical development—these pages are excellently done—after which he passes to the inevitable dissertation on the "Wesen" of religion and politics. There follows an interesting chapter on the actual influence in present-day politics of the various world-religions; the primitive religions, Islam, Judaism, Protestantism, the Orthodox Churches and Catholicism are all passed under review. The book ends with some pages of practical conclusions, and a word about Catholic Action.

Dr. Steffes is happiest when he is writing either as a historian or as a Catholic theologian. His weakness is a certain naive belief that people always act politically from some principle or other, even though a false one—the weakness of a theorist and a scholar over-convinced of the power of ideas. For example, one hardly quite believes (p. 153) that many modern Protestants are unable to "find a positive relation" to the modern state, because they still cling to the doctrine of the divine right of kings; or (p. 131) that Gandhi's principle of "non violence" is entirely explained by the political passivity of Buddhism. And his remarks about England (p. 158: ". . . . the uniform conviction of the entire people . . . . of being specially elected as an instrument in the hands of God"), though doubtless historically true, make a smile flicker about the lips of his reader—at least, if that reader be Irish! Has Dr. Steffes never heard of "that prince of opportunists, Lloyd George?" Still, the book as a whole is well worth reading, and the statement of the Catholic position at the end is done with fine restraint and force.

D. D.

Shorter Notices

THE SACRAMENTARY (LIBER SACRAMENTORUM). Historical and Liturgical Notes on the Roman Missal. By Ildefonso Schuster, O.S.B. Translated from the Italian by Arthur Levelis-Marke. Four volumes. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1924-29. Each volume 15s.

With the fourth volume, now before us, the English translation of this great liturgical work is complete. For those unacquainted with the work it may be well to state that sacramentary was the name anciently given to the book that contained all the prayers to be recited by the bishop or the priest not only in the Mass but in the administration of the sacraments. In that sense it is, in the main, understood here.

Abbot Schuster's work is a kind of new Dom Guéranger, less literary and rhetorical, but if anything even fuller of liturgical lore. The author's plan is to take Sunday, Feast, or feriâ as they occur in the order of the Church's calendar and to discuss the liturgical features of each of them. But in addition to this we have introductions (a general introduction to liturgical study in Vol. I. and particular introductions to each part), dissertations, and appendices, many of them of the greatest interest. For instance, in the "eucholo-gical appendices" very beautiful prayers and hymns, eucharistic and other, are recorded for us. The whole work is a treasure-house of devotion and sacred learning, not for the liturgist only but for any educated Catholic.

S. J. B.

MYSTICAL PRAYER ACCORDING TO ST. FRANCIS DE SALES. By Auguste Saudreau. Translated by A. E. H. Swinstead. London: Sheed and Ward. 1929. 2s. 6d.

MYSTICAL PRAYER ACCORDING TO ST. JANE DE CHANTAL. By Auguste Saudreau. Translated by A. E. H. Swinstead. London: Sheed and Ward. 1929. 2s. 6d.

FRANCISCAN MYSTICISM. A translation made by Dom Basil Whelan, O.S.B., from the French edition of the work *Mystical Theology*, by Brother Boniface Maes, Lector of the Province of Friars Minor Recollects of the County of Flanders, Ghent, 1669. Now first published by Sheed and Ward. 1929. 2s. 6d.

These three booklets do much credit to the enterprise and intelligence of that real live firm of Catholic publishers, Sheed and Ward. The first two are translations of articles which appeared in *La Vie Spirituelle*, by Canon Saudreau. They give an excellent idea of the spirituality of two great saints, as we might expect from such an authority as Canon Saudreau. Needless to say, they are as edifying as they are informative.

The third booklet, the *Mystical Theology* of Boniface Maes, is a rare and precious find, a pearl of great price for all who seek instruction on prayer and the contemplative life. The actual work of Father Boniface is not much more than some eighty odd pages, but it is a golden opusculum. To adapt Addison's saying, one might call it "*merum sal spirituale*, a delicious little thing." Every sentence seems packed with sound instruction, full of meat and juice. It must be read and re-read, carefully and slowly, to appreciate the amount of matter it contains, matter of the most practical utility to any person of prayer in the cloister or in the world. Even the mere speculative student of mysticism will find many shrewd observations. There is an analysis of the prayer of simplicity or acquired contemplation on page 80 which is masterly. The two introductions the student will also find very useful. But the book of Fr. Boniface itself is the treasure, well worthy to be set beside the *Cloud of Unknowing* on our shelves. If the souls of those in glory could experience a motion of human pride, Ideal Ward must feel proud of his grand-daughter's flair for spiritual literature.

John Howley.

THE INWARD VISION. R. H. J. Steuart, S.J. London: Longmans. 1929. 5s. net.

TWENTY-FOUR essays or meditations—or whatever we please to call them—make up what is essentially a book to be read slowly and carefully. They deal with the greatest problems that confront the thinking mind, and they suggest or demand certain attitudes of mind with which to greet and examine the greatest facts of which we have any knowledge. Many virtues are necessary for a book with such a purpose, and this book has all of them in a marked degree. The style is sincere, grave, simple. Everything is made as easy for the reader as skilful exposition can make it. The treatment is economical, balanced, courageous. There is no padding, no wasting of words. The main point in each essay is made with a commendable absence of digressions. And, best of all, no reader will feel that the author has failed to grasp the inherent difficulties which surround serious thought about such subjects as the nature of our knowledge of God and the Divine Attributes, the problems of Pain, Prayer and Reparation. M. B.

TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF SCIENCE. The Wonders of Nature and their Discoverers. By R. J. Harvey-Gibson, C.B.E., D.L., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.E. London: Black. 1929. 12s. 6d. net.

THIS book reflects the scientific mentality of our generation. On the one hand there is a widespread ignorance of everything scientific, even amongst those who are otherwise counted as well educated. There is also an equally general desire for scientific knowledge amongst all classes. As a consequence the output of popular scientific works suitable for the general reader is rapidly increasing. Of this class is the book we are now considering.

It is no easy matter to give in 350 pages even a very general outline of the growth of the principal branches of science during two thousand years, yet this is what the writer set out to do. The reader must not, therefore, expect to find anything but a brief and general treatment of the innumerable points of interest which the history of science presents. The great difficulty in writing a book of popular science is to be both popular and scientific. A great deal of the thoroughly unscientific outlook of the present generation is to be traced to "popular" scientific literature, which for the most part is, if not actually inaccurate, at least hopelessly inadequate. The book under review is not altogether free from this fault. It is, for example, not very enlightening to be told at the end of a very unsatisfying "explanation" of the tides: "The matter is, of course, nothing like so simple as this when details are considered, for in determining the tides exactly we have to take into account many other factors, such as the distribution of sea and land, the temperature of the water, the prevailing winds, and so on." As a matter of fact the omissions which render the explanation useless are of an altogether different and more fundamental kind. Many examples of omissions in describing important discoveries could be mentioned.

Historical questions are treated fairly, and a praiseworthy moderation is shown in dealing with matters associated with the names of Galileo, Darwin, Mendel, and others. The work gives evidence of wide general knowledge, but it is questionable if the educative results achieved are proportional to the labour which must have been expended in its compilation. A remarkable feature is an index of thirty-two columns of small print, which contains about 2,000 references, or more than five to each page. This fact, perhaps, gives a good idea of the general nature of the book.

As a reference book for those who do not seek any very full or exhaustive treatment this work may certainly prove useful. It is, however, only right to say that such books seem to foster that tendency to be satisfied with a very superficial knowledge, or half-knowledge, which is often worse than no knowledge at all. But, as we have said, the task which the writer set himself was a difficult one, if not quite impossible. H. V. G.

Books Received

A Jesu Maria, R. P. Tractatus de probabilitate utriusque partis in controversia de efficacia gratiae. (Roma, pp. 64).

Alonso, Manuel ... El Sacrificio Eucarístico de la ultima cena del Señor según el Concilio Tridentino. (Madrid: *Razón y Fé*, 25 pesetas).

Amo Nesciri ... A Cluster of Oak Leaves. Poems. (Talbot Press, 1/–).

[Anonymous] ... Comment acquérier la maîtrise de soi-même. (Aubanel Frères, pp. 80).

Baikie, James ... A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the End of the XVIII Dynasty. 2 vols. (Black, 36/–).

Bardy, Abbe G. ... Greek Literature of the Early Christian Church. (Sands, 3/6).

Baudot, Dom ... The Breviary. Its History and Contents. (Sands, 316).

Beecher, P. A. ... The Holy Shroud. Reply to Rev. Herbert Thurston, S.J. (Gill, 6/–).

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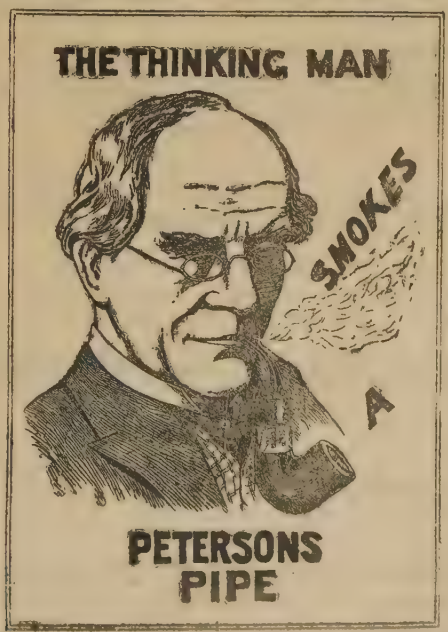

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